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Employers' Associations.

A NEW factor has entered into the industrial struggle of labor with capital. There has been a growth of concentrated capital for the past twenty-five years. The appearance of consciously organized capital, organized for the purpose of dealing with the labor question, is entirely different and is of recent development.

In 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia, Thomas H. Martin, the editor of *Dixie*, advocated in an editorial the consolidating and organizing of manufacturing interests and the adopting of a united policy in order to meet the aggressions of labor. This suggestion was carried out and the National Association of Manufacturers had its birth.

This body now consists not only of a national organization with 3,000 members in thirty-nine of the different states but we find that international relations are also maintained. "There may be some of our members," says its president Mr. Parry, "who have been modest enough to suppose that the National Association was merely national. In reality it is international in its work and scope now as it always has been." In the ninth annual report of this association one of its objects is stated. It is "an organization which is practically an insurance against populist and socialistic experiments."

The Manufacturers' Association is not the only one of its class. The Metal Trades Association and various others also represent the interests of employers. While these organizations have existed for a half dozen years at least, there has recently been formed and perfected a national association of all employers for the object of dealing with the labor problem in a unified manner.

The relation in which this organization known as the Citizens' Industrial Association stands to the other associations is defined by Mr. Parry, who is also president of this new union of em-

ployers. "I want to say a few words now as to the relations between the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. This Association is one of members and supporters of the Citizens' Industrial Association standing in the same relation to it as the National Metal Trades and other national organizations. This association is composed exclusively of manufacturers, while the Citizens' Industrial is composed of associations of employers in all lines of industry."

In a circular letter sent out recently to Chicago employers, Mr. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association of Chicago, states the four cardinal principles for which the organization stands: (1) The open shop. (2) No sympathetic strike. (3) No limitation or restriction of output. (4) Enforcement of the laws. This organization is first of all openly anti-trade union in its principles. It represents a lining up of organized capital against organized labor, a combination of the manufacturing capitalist interests to meet the power of the trade unions. This purpose is stated by its president, "The primary object of every manufacturer and employer in this country is, I believe, to secure amelioration from present trade union methods." Local branches of this Employers' Association now exist in practically every town of importance in the United States. The significance of the movement is apparent. The struggle of the classes is not a theory only. It is a reality. The employers recognize it. The laborers know it. A few reformers cannot see it, but they do not count. They have no influence in this struggle. The two forces face each other in a growingly compact form. The lines are clearly defined. A determined conscious attitude marks both sides.

The Employers' Association has necessarily assumed a certain attitude economically. It has formulated a body of thought in strict conformity with its interests and marked principally by the fact that it puts its advocates back into the company of the economic ideas of three generations ago.

One of the first assumptions is that of the fixity of economic laws, "laws that are beyond the power of men to alter." This postulate as old as the classical economists originated at a time when it was thought that a certain psychological restraint was needed for the laboring class in order to make them feel that inevitable natural laws barred the way to any betterment of their condition. Some of the twentieth century economists have discovered that the world does move and have shown that all social laws are relative; that economic laws are determined by the time and place in which they originate; and that tendencies marking one stage of growth may have no application to another period of development.

The doctrine of freedom of contract that originated with the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century is duly emphasized

by this organization. We quote again from Mr. Parry, "Do the employers wish to save labor from itself because they love labor better than labor loves itself? I think not. The real reason why the employers are fighting for the maintenance of freedom in industry is because freedom in industry pays. It pays the employer but it also pays the employe and the nation as a whole. All classes profit by the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases with his time, labor and property, so long as he does not infringe the equal freedom of another. All classes must suffer by an interference with this freedom whether from government or irresponsible labor organizations."

The employers of the early nineteenth century used similar arguments against the factory legislation of their time. According to theory the labor contract may be an agreement voluntary, and freely entered into by the employer on one hand and the laborer on the other. Everyone knows, however, and Mr. Parry among them, that this freedom is nominal and not real. The peculiar characteristics of the commodity labor are such that the individual seller of labor power is always at a disadvantage. There is no freedom or equality in contracts for the sale of labor. Where is the "freedom of contract" when the workman stands alone before the employer? The laborer has no choice, it is with him a question of work or starvation; "there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals." The only resource the laboring man has thus far found is in collective bargaining. Hence the employer seeks to revive the cry of free competition and that the individuals' freedom is infringed on if the union exists or labor legislation is passed.

The question of the rate of wages occupies no small part of the attention of the employers. The old wage fund theory is stated in a new and interesting manner. "The rate of wages in any country is dependent upon the per capita production," and since it is claimed the trade union tends to limit production by shortening hours and objecting to men being speeded up, that therefore so much less is produced and wages are correspondingly low, the capital in the words of J. S. Mill devoted to the payment of labor. Wages we hold tend always to the subsistence point and no matter how much the laborer produced he would receive in wages only enough to live and produce other laborers, the surplus going to the employer.

Why this extreme interest on the part of Mr. Parry that the worker produce more? Is it that the laborer's wages may be increased? Or is it that the surplus profit that goes to the employer may be larger? The Employers' Association fully recognizes that its law of wages is a mere makeshift and that wages are fixed by subsistence. This is clearly seen in the statement of Mr. Job quoted in the New York Sun: "We have a department

which figures out the cost of living and if it's increased only 10 per cent we don't propose to accede to a demand for a 45 per cent increase in wages made on the old plea that the cost of living has increased that much. We tell the employer to give what the increased cost warrants but no more and then if a strike is called we stand behind him with a certified check to help him out if he needs it to keep from failing." Certainly here no account is taken of any increase in production. So the employer does after all admit the iron law of wages and moreover reserves to himself the right to fix the standard of living for the working man. Such is some of the economic reasoning upon which the Employers' Association is founded.

We can now consider the attitude of this association toward the trade union organization. It is avowedly one of hostility. "The labor movement," says Mr. Sayward, in an address before the National Builders' convention, "has not concerned and does not concern itself with the interest of employers, but is almost wholly addressed to gaining advantages or supposed advantages from employers and for a certain section of those engaged in the world's work, namely, those who work for wages. . . . The character of this force is selfish." The trade union movement was and is organized not in the interest of employers but in the interest of laborers, for the latter recognize that their interests are not identical and would scarcely organize an "aid society" for the very force that is oppressing them. The trade union movement does stand for the self-interest of its own members and would hardly care to deny it, but it had its birth in the oppressive self-interest of a dominant employing class. It was and is a defense organization.

That the Employers' Association is opposed to the union as such is further shown by Mr. W. D. Sayle, of Cleveland, O., in a communication to the late Marcus Hanna: "I would respectfully impress upon your mind that the manufacturers are deadly opposed to any scheme to build up unionism in this city." It has also come to the decision that in dealing with the unions there can be no half way measure, that either they must frankly recognize them or "smash" them. Hence comes the demand on their part for the open shop.

We quote from the resolution passed by the National Association of Manufacturers at Pittsburg: "This association declares its unalterable antagonism to the closed shop." Again Mr. Parry says, "The closed shop is against public policy and is of doubtful legality." In an article in the New York Evening Post on the necessity for the open shop we find this: "Chicago employers have organized for resistance so generally and are so well supported by the public and press that they are not yielding to the 'closed shop' demand even though organized labor has grown

in one year from a membership of 120,000 to 243,000." "The present crusade for the closed shop is war upon society," writes Chas. Quarles, of Milwaukee, in the September *American Industries*. Chas. W. Eliot, of Harvard, says: "The important things for which the association should steadily contend seem to me to be (1) the open shop; (2) no union label; (3) in case of a strike permanent employment for those who take the strikers' places; (4) resistance through the courts to picketing and boycotting."

Said Mr. Geo. Bent in a speech before the Manufacturers' Association, "We must have the absolutely open shop. We must see to it that any man, woman or child who wants to work and who needs to work can and shall do so in peace and without fear. We must see to it that any one may work as long and as hard as he pleases." Mr. Bent is greatly concerned over the laborers' "right to work." The laborer is equally concerned over the "right to the product of his labor."

Every man, unionist or employer, knows what the "open shop" means. It means the destruction of the union. It means that the laborer is again put on the footing of dealing individually with the employer, that he can be discharged because he is a union man. It is then a declaration of hostility on the part of the employers and a statement of their determination to "wreck" the union.

As a corollary to the "open shop" the association dwells on the rights of the non-union man and the need of the scab. Even the Rev. Hillis comes to their defense. The scab and non-union worker are the tools it is proposed to use in accomplishing the destruction of the union; they are hence a necessary part of the plan. This apparent "crocodile" sympathy for the non-union man has then a selfish interest behind it,—he is to be used as a strike breaker. But lest the "scab" may think his employer really has a paternal interest in him let him hear what this same association says concerning the "capitalist scab," the employer who does not fall into line with the Employers' Association. Mr. W. D. Sayle, president of the Manufacturers' Association of Cleveland, O., says: "We find in every walk of life and business certain individuals and firms perfectly willing to stand back and let others settle their labor troubles. They say to their help, 'We will give you the same that you compel the other employers to give, so keep on working for us and you will not lose any time.' This is the man who is willing to follow the trail that has been blazed by his fellows without expense to him of time, blood or money. Like flies, fleas and fevers, he is with us." Here the coat is on the other man and the capitalist scab becomes a monstrosity.

The "walking delegate" of a trade union is to the Employers' Association "the greatest disturber between capital and labor," "a blackmailer and bird of ill-omen," "who thrives on dissen-

sions." But he is a valuable individual if he be the "walking delegate" or rather as Comrade Max Hayes has put it, the "riding delegate" of the Employers' Association. That they have such is seen in the recent report of F. K. Copeland, who asks that a "walking delegate" from the National Association be sent to aid in the work of organization in Chicago.

The boycott has been recognized by the union as a means of defense in its struggle with capital. Yet while the Employers' Association characterizes the boycott as "cowardly and un-American" it passes this resolution:

"Resolved, That our commissioner upon being notified that any member is subjected to a boycott, notify the entire membership of that fact;

"Resolved, That each member of this association in making purchases give such boycotted member the preference over all competitors until the boycott is declared off."

Further, it is advised that in placing local advertising the members should see to it that it is given only to those papers that will favor the association; also in city elections that they secure the defeat of such officials as it is judged will be detrimental to the interests of the association. If these are not examples of the use of the "un-American" boycott, what are they?

The charge is next brought against the labor unions that they corrupt politics. Mr. Geo. Martin, writing for the National Journalist-Printer, says: "How about labor unions in politics and public affairs? A consensus of Republican, Democratic, Populist and go-as-you-please opinion, the oft-expressed statement of candidates of high and low degree is that they are harlots, the leaders are always after boodle." It is also objected that the trade unions keep a lobby at Washington. If all of these statements were true they come with small grace from that class of society that has made legislatures the mere tools of lobbyists, that has reached the point of control where it need not even keep such a lobby but sends Senators Clarke, Addicks, Platt and Babcock, etc., who represent personally the interests of great corporations. Further it is well known that the Employers' Association proposes to use its power to manipulate legislation as a weapon against the trade unions. A strenuous effort is made to stop all labor legislation. The bills against which the fight has been mainly directed by the association are the anti-injunction bill, the eight-hour bill, the national arbitration bill and the compulsory metric system bill. The eight-hour bill has received the larger part of the attention. This bill which has been endorsed by the unions provides that no man employed on government contracts can work more than eight hours in any one day. Whether this bill is urged on humanitarian grounds or any other grounds it is a measure of defense on the part of the unions and hence is opposed by every

employer. Men representing the Employers' Association are present whenever a bill of this character is to be reported upon and use a powerful influence for its defeat.

As a further part of their plan of attack upon the trade unions they have organized an employment bureau and have a well developed system of black listing. Mr. J. C. Hobart, chairman of the Employment Bureau Committee of the Cincinnati Metal Trades association, says: "The employment bureau will give any members the name of workmen to fill vacancies; the employer will know that such men are of good character and not likely to give him trouble. The bureau can know every agitator or disturber; it can know who are good men and who are bad." The commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association reports: "This association has established a certified system for tried and true workmen who have been faithful to us during strikes,—we shall soon have a body of these men whom we know can be depended upon in case of trouble." The applicants for these certificates must have proven their loyalty to their employers by having been faithful to them during labor trouble. A holder of one of these certificates presenting it to a member of the association is to be shown especial favor.

That this system is being thoroughly and determinedly organized is evident. Emergency men are secured by each local and are subject to the call of the national organization. The whole plan is a gigantic scheme of black listing. It is thus hoped to "prevent undesirable characters from receiving employment in the shops of the members." They attempt to avoid the use of the professional strike breaker for they know he recognizes his value and will only work as he likes but by the paying of a bonus to a certain body of men in each employer's shop they can in case of strike send these from member to member to take the place of strikers. These methods are beginning to work. The Employers' Association played its part in the stock yards strike just closed and in the Colorado strike.

Throughout the literature of this organization there are numerous appeals to "patriotism," "liberty" and "the dear American people," made frequently in the following choice language used by Mr. Geo. Bent: "Get at work for freedom, for liberty, and for the right! Get at work to stop the dastardly devilry of all who have been and are still unlawfully interfering with the rights of others. Stop being boycotters, for such we are whenever we agree to hire exclusively help of a certain breed or brand. Stop advertising your goods as union-made. The union label is the badge of slavery, and you build your own destruction in the use of it. Advertise your goods rather as not union made. I do so, others may." It is well that the labor movement recognizes that it is engaged in a great economic struggle, the giant struggle of the ages and that "right" will only come when justice is obtained.

The Employers' Association whines because the labor movement urges men to stay out of the militia, "a movement which drives its members from the national guard is to be regarded with suspicion by all law-abiding and patriotic citizens," says Mr. Parry. General Samuel M. Welch, addressing a body of employers said, "I would like to say to you that you put yourselves into communication with the commanding officer of the national guard in the place where you live, that you assure him that if there is any available material in your establishment which he can utilize to make soldiers of that you are willing that he should do it." He then advised them to keep such men on the pay roll while in service and welcome them back with open arms.

Why does this opposition to the militia on the part of the unions exist? The employers cannot believe that the union man is a sense blinded imbecile, that he will advocate the maintaining of a body of soldiery that is kept for the sole purpose of "suppressing local disorders" which means shooting striking union men without cause. How many lessons do they believe the worker needs? The great Chicago strike of '94 was an eye opener. Colorado has brought the fact into the full glare of day. And lest we forget the attitude of the employers of America let me quote the resolution passed by the Manufacturers' Association at its ninth convention last May: "Resolved, By the National Association of Manufacturers in annual convention assembled, that this organization most heartily approves of the wise and honorable stand taken and steadfastly maintained by Governor Peabody of Colorado in suppressing by all the power at his command all forms of violence and of violation of law in that state;

"Resolved, That this association extends its thanks to Governor Peabody for his patriotic performance of a great public duty and for the thorough and persistent manner in which he has done it."

This same Governor Peabody in a speech at a club banquet in Chicago recently said concerning one of the leaders of the Colorado miners: "I will have that man's life yet." When the chief executive of a state makes such a statement we say unhesitatingly that this man who sits in the governor's chair is an anarchist, an enemy of social order and the impartiality of the law in that state has become a farce.

One of the best examples of the working of this association is seen in the struggle between the employers and union men that took place in the summer of 1903 at Beloit, Wis. This town of 15,000 inhabitants employed about 3,000 in the shops as iron workers and 1,000 or more in other lines. One-half of these men belonged to unions. In May of that year a strike was called of the men in the Berlin Machine works, employing 600 men. The demand was for a nine-hour day without reduction of wages.

Mr. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association of Chicago, was sent for by the employers of Beloit, who feared a spread of the strike. June 16th he organized a branch of the association under the name of "The Citizens' Alliance," non-union working men were urged to also join this. An injunction was obtained by the Berlin management from Judge Dunwiddie of Rock county. Notices were posted that the shops would be opened and the men who applied "made affidavits to the effect that they did not belong to a union and would not join a union while they were in the employ of these people." Today so effective has been the work of the association that the unions of Beloit are crushed.

So far we have dealt only with the attitude of this association in relation to the unions. But there is another side to this whole struggle. Around and back of the fight against unionism lies a greater antagonism to a force, that the employers recognize is becoming a veritable giant in the land, the socialist movement. David M. Parry, whom John Kirby of the Dayton Manufacturing company calls the "Abraham Lincoln of the twentieth century"—this gentleman's mechanism must be minus the sense of the ridiculous—leads the fight against socialism. "The critical examinations of the demands made by the modern trades unionism will show that they contain the seed of industrial destruction, for they all point toward the abyss of socialism." An Indiana paper recently said, "The manufacturers are very positive in their denunciation of socialistic tendencies which have characterized recent meetings of union men." Mr. Hobart, in the Bulletin of the Metal Trades, gives due credit to the strength of the socialist movement. "The socialist vote is growing rapidly from year to year and unless something is done to counteract the tendency that party will in a few years hold the balance of the power." Another manufacturer writes, "We are called upon . . . to combat the insidious and damnable sophistries which have addled and poisoned the judgment of some of our best as well as most of our worst fellow citizens." "When your house is on fire," says Mr. Kirby, "you do not wait until it is burned to the ground before turning in an alarm. Neither should you wait until socialism becomes rampant and uncontrollable before you begin to check its growth." This same gentleman brands the Western miners for their socialistic tendency. "Another small army is to be found in the Western Federation of Miners, which has elevated the banner of socialism in a brazen manner before the nation and which of late months has been engaged in rebellion against the authorities of the state of Colorado."

This, then, is the growing power that the Employers' Association really does fear. If it does not recognize it now it will soon, that here is a movement that will call a different strike from that of any trade union—that will not ask for shorter hours or a few

cents more wages, but will ask the whole produce and point the way for the employer to pass down and out of the industrial scene. It will not be charged to socialists that they maintain lobbies for they propose to control the government entire. They ask no arbitration—they propose a change that does not admit of arbitration. They do not recognize that the employer has any rights to arbitrate about. It is small wonder that with inevitable failure ahead the Employers' Association looks with dread on the growth of socialism.

The eye of this organization is upon the growth politically of the socialist party. Mr. Kirby sees in it dire results to his class. Before the Manufacturers' Association he said, "It was only a few weeks ago when it was demonstrated that the socialistic vote in the city of Milwaukee was almost large enough to elect the mayor. It did elect nine councilmen. In truth, socialism in this country is no mere phantom of the brain. Thousands upon thousands seem to be more or less under the influence of the baneful creed."

At no time in the history of class struggles have the economic classes faced each other with so conscious a realization of their relation. At no time has there existed such perfection of organization on both sides. The whole so-called "labor movement" is going to school to socialism and as it learns it becomes a part of that socialist movement that rests on an international foundation and that plainly sees that the contradictions in modern society are leading inevitably to the abolition of wage labor. This is the body of men that is putting itself in accord with the trend of social progress. The trade union man against whom nominally the employers are waging a struggle passes on by hundreds and thousands into the socialist movement. We do well to estimate the strength of our capitalist opponent, and to note the effect of these associations upon the industrial situation.

MAY WOOD SIMONS.

The Socialist Outlook.

THE Socialist Party is the only party that has no secrets. While other political parties elaborate most intricate systems of bookkeeping in order to conceal the sources of their income and the character of their expenditures, from even their own employes, the Socialist Party requires regular publication of the amount and source of all income, and the character of all expenditures. In the same way, while the Republican, Democratic, Prohibitionist and Populist parties all endeavor as far as possible to obtain information as to their strength in various localities, this information is kept carefully concealed from the outer world and the public is given the benefit only of such "estimates" as the political managers think will be most effective in bringing votes. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, cares nothing for votes which come merely because the ones casting them hope to be "with the crowd." Consequently we have no hesitation in publishing the details of the facts upon which our estimates are based. We do not shrink from the most careful examination of our own condition and are as careful to know the discouraging as the encouraging features.

Viewing the situation as a whole there seems to be nothing but encouragement from the socialist point of view. It is hard to realize in view of the united enthusiastic action of today that the campaign of 1900 was fought on the part of the socialists with a presidential nominee from one organization and a vice-presidential from another. Everywhere our efforts were paralyzed by the existence of two warring organizations within one party. The S. L. P. ghost was not yet completely laid, and rose to vex us on every corner. Much of our energy had to be expended in explaining that we had nothing in common with that ill-smelling organization, and much of our remaining energy was actually spent in abusing each other. This year with the exception of two or three petty squabbles there is a solid united party from one end of the country to the other. The Socialist Labor Party has practically disappeared from the public mind as well as from the political arena, and we scarcely realize its existence except when there comes a doleful voice from the tombs inquiring "why Carey built the armory," or why somebody supported the "Kautsky resolution."

But our political life springs from industrial situations and here again there is room for nothing but congratulation. I shall not here take the space to tell what has been told so often in our periodicals during the last few months, of how the complete

capitalistic character of both political parties, the outrages of our ruling class, industrial concentration and employers' associations have all worked together to preach socialist philosophy and give emphasis and illustration to socialist speakers and writers.

Four years ago the democratic party with its anti-trust, free silver, populist platform was able to attract the attention of a great many workers who might otherwise have listened to the socialist speakers. This year there is no party in the field aside from the socialist, that can claim in any sense to be other than plutocratic.

When we come to a consideration of the work done by the party organization, no comparison whatever is really possible, so great has been the increase in effectiveness. No figures can be secured for the 1900 campaign but up to the present time the National office of the Socialist Party has circulated over one million leaflets and over 50,000 pamphlets. In 1900 there were no regular organizers at work under the direction of the National office with the exception of the candidates. This year during the present campaign there have been from ten to twenty-five organizers working under the direct control of and paid by the National office. These have covered all the unorganized states quite thoroughly and have given active assistance wherever they were needed within the organized states. Many state organizations sustain an activity but little less than that of the national organization, as will be seen from the reports given herewith. Another method of gauging strength is seen by the greatly increased attention to the socialists in the public press. Here, again, there is almost no comparison between the scanty notices of four years ago and the columns of matter that are now being printed.

Just as I write this, for instance, the Chicago Chronicle, the most rabid anti-socialist paper in the United States, prints a two column article stating that not less than two republican seats in the next House of Representatives are endangered by the socialist movement in Wisconsin, while quite a large number of assemblymen will be elected; and a news item of the same issue states concerning Illinois "information has been received at republican state headquarters that the socialists are making great gains in nearly every industrial and foreign community in the state."

Taking up the comparative membership of the party we find that in 1900 there were probably not over five or six thousand dues paying members in both wings of the Social Democratic Party. At the present time these have increased to over 30,000.

Within the trade unions there has been a corresponding growth. This is indicated in the reports from the various states

which follow and has been mentioned so often in the socialist press that further notice is not necessary here.

When we come to the actual estimates there is room for the widest possible disagreement. Many undoubtedly will claim that the table given herewith is too conservative. I can only say that it is based on reports from several active comrades in nearly every state. The figures so obtained have been checked by comparison with the reports of national organizers, and finally the entire table has been gone through with National Secretary Maily. It should be said, however, that he is in no way responsible for these figures, although his suggestions were taken into consideration in its formation. Numerous other comrades who were in a position to know the situation have also given their aid. It indicates a probable increase of about 100 per cent over two years ago, and 400 per cent over four years ago, that is, it indicates that our vote is doubling about every two years. This is certainly as rapid a growth as can be assimilated. In this connection a quotation from the report of Comrade Franklin H. Wentworth is interesting. He says, "I fear that when our votes are counted the returns will show astonishing gains of sympathetic ballots. It would have been better for us if the democrats had nominated Hearst. We can do very well without a sympathetic influx until such time as our organizations are able to assimilate it."

In conclusion it must be remembered that the work of the old party politicians will mainly be done during the last three weeks of the campaign. Could our vote be taken now it would be much larger than later when the millions of capitalism are turned loose. The unthinking, wavering voter who had just begun to think, is swept way back into his old political slavery. It depends upon the socialist, to a large degree, as to how far this movement goes. Our campaign must not be allowed to lag during the last few weeks. Now is the time for a great common effort. If you have given the time and money before, now give the more. If you have not responded until now, do not delay any longer and see that your efforts are kept up until election night.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATE.	1900.	1902.	1904.
Alabama	928	2,312	5,000
Arizona .....	...	519	2,000
*Arkansas	27	27	2,000
California	7,572	9,592	22,000
Colorado	684	7,360	15,000
Connecticut	1,741	2,857	5,000
*Delaware	57	57	700

*Florida	603	603	5,000
Georgia .....	.....	.....	1,500
Idaho .....	.....	1,800	3,000
Illinois	9,687	20,167	45,000
Indiana	2,374	7,134	15,000
Iowa	2,742	6,360	12,000
Kansas	1,605	4,078	8,000
Kentucky	760	1,886	3,500
Louisiana .....	.....	.....	5,000
Maine	878	1,974	2,000
*Maryland	908	908	2,000
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	40,000
Michigan	2,826	4,261	8,000
Minnesota	3,065	5,143	10,000
Mississippi .....	.....	.....	1,000
Missouri	6,128	5,335	15,000
Montana	708	2,466	6,000
Nebraska	823	3,157	7,000
Nevada .....	.....	.....	1,000
New Hampshire	790	1,057	2,000
New Jersey	4,609	5,491	10,000
New Mexico Ter. ....	.....	.....	1,000
New York	12,869	23,400	40,000
North Carolina .....	.....	.....	1,000
North Dakota	518	1,245	3,000
Ohio	4,847	14,270	25,000
Oklahoma Territory	815	1,963	5,000
Oregon	1,494	3,532	6,000
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910	30,000
Rhode Island .....	.....	.....	2,000
South Carolina .....	.....	.....	500
South Dakota	176	2,620	5,000
*Tennessee	410	410	4,000
Texas	1,846	3,513	8,000
Utah	717	2,927	6,000
*Vermont	371	371	1,000
*Virginia	225	225	1,000
Washington	1,609	4,739	12,000
*West Virginia	286	286	5,000
Wisconsin	7,095	15,957	40,000
Wyoming .....	.....	552	1,500
Total	98,424	225,903	450,700

*These states had no election in 1902.

REPORT BY STATES.

Alabama.—There is a large strike in the Birmingham district and reports come to the effect that the miners are flocking to socialism, a recent speech by Debs having aroused the most intense enthusiasm. Four years ago there was practically no movement in Alabama.

Arizona.—National organizers have visited this state several times and all report an active interest. The Tucson papers have been commenting on the socialist growth and state that there will be a considerable vote.

California.—Reports from Alameda, Tulare, San Diego, and Riverside together with information gathered from various other sources indicate that the vote of 7,572 cast in 1900 will be multiplied at least three fold this year. The confusion with the "Labor Party" in 1902 caused the increase to be very little in that year, but this is now a thing of the past and there is a united effort throughout the state, with the exception of a small factional quarrel in San Francisco, which is not, however, of a character to affect the vote adversely. Comrade Ratdke of Local Alameda county reports that sales of literature amount to \$5.00 per weekly meeting with a large free distribution of a local campaign paper, the *Socialist Voice*. Vote estimated at 2,000 compared with an average of about 1,000 in 1902. Tulare county reports that twice as much speaking is being done and five times as much literature circulated as four years ago. Last presidential election there was but one local in Tulare county; now there are seven. San Diego county is being covered with a van for speaking and literature, and a house to house canvass is being made. They expect to double their vote of two years ago (800). Vote in 1900 was 350. They elected a justice of the peace and constable two years ago and expect to capture several more positions this fall. Riverside has eight locals compared with half that number four years ago and expects to cast three times as large a vote as then.

Colorado.—Comrade Southworth writes: "No party organization four years ago; fifty locals in good standing now. Probable vote 20,000, but it will not all be counted for us." Too much must not be expected from Colorado because of the terrible school which her workers have been attending. It seems to require something more than persecution to make socialists. The state Federation of Labor has endorsed the Democratic party, seeming to think that a bull-pen with a democratic label on it would be less oppressive than the republican brand. At the same time the "Miners' Magazine" is doing splendid work among the W. F. of M., and reports from all parts of the state indicate intense interest in socialism. It must also be remembered in calculating the Colorado vote that the wholesale deportations and

compulsory removals of various sorts will, through residence qualifications, disfranchise very many socialist voters.

Report from Comrade Maynard of Denver states that the agitation is much greater than in 1900; that whereas there was practically no organization four years ago there are now one hundred dues-paying members, and she estimates the vote for Debs in Denver at 3,000.

Connecticut.—State Secretary W. E. White reports that in agitation and distribution of literature there is at least twice as much activity as two years ago. Membership in 1902 was 300, is 500 now. Expects a vote of 4,000 in the state. National office reports show that this is probably too low as there is very great activity in the localities visited by the national organizers.

Delaware.—This state has always been considered immune to socialist propaganda, but Comrade Ella Reeves Cohen has been working under the national office in this state for some time and has now secured an organization which gives promise of a considerable vote.

Florida.—From a remarkably good report by State Secretary Green we take the following extracts: "The party was organized July 14th, 1902. An organizer has been at work during the last seven months. During this time he established eighteen locals with a membership of 184. We now have 35 locals in good standing with 360 members. We have a state paper published at Jacksonville, that began publication last July. The railroads have proved to be our best allies in this state. They have oppressed and plundered the truckers and fruit growers until they are nearly frantic. This has made them ready to listen to us and to read our literature with avidity, until in some counties our propaganda takes like wild-fire. This is particularly true of the southern counties, especially of Lee and Hillsboro counties. In the former county we only had one local last June, with 15 members; now we have eight locals with more than 100 dues-paying members, and still growing rapidly. In Hillsboro county, where we only had two locals last July, with about 25 members, we now have ten locals with about 75 members. These men are mostly farmers and truckers, but they have a surprisingly clear idea of socialism and the class-struggle. We had 601 votes for Debs four years ago, and from all indications we should have at least ten times as much this fall. The comrades in Lee county are perfectly confident of electing most, if not all, of their county ticket in November." A report from Jacksonville confirms this enthusiastic position, and statements from various parts of the state bring a like story.

Idaho.—There has been active agitation throughout this entire state for two years and the state is now quite well organized. National Organizer Wilkins has worked there for six weeks during the campaign and reports probability of a good vote.

Illinois.—It may be largely because I am more familiar with the situation in Illinois than any where else (although I have visited many other states during the last year) that I am inclined to believe that this state will lead the socialist column at the coming election. I am led to this conclusion by various facts. In 1900 there were barely a dozen locals in good standing in the state. Today there are 19 county organizations, none of whom have less than three branches and one of which, that embracing Cook county, has 60 branches and nearly two thousand members upon its books. Aside from these there are 50 locals in good standing outside of county organizations. There will be five organizers regularly in the field paid by the state committee from now until election and some of these have been working for some time. This is entirely aside from something over 50 speakers who are working locally or are sent out occasionally. The reports which come in are all extremely encouraging. Capitalist papers estimate our vote in Rock Island at one thousand and in Peoria between two or three thousand, an increase of several hundred percent in both instances. Throughout the entire coal mining district, there is a most remarkable interest in socialism. From the Danville district there is a prospect of electing Comrade Walker who is a district president of the U. M. W. to the legislature. Indeed almost all the officials and active workers of the U. M. W. in Illinois are also active in the socialist movement. It is only necessary to name Comrade James of Spring Valley, Carr of Ladd, McDonald of Streator and Perry, president of the Illinois field to show how fully this is true. In Chicago the machinists seem almost unanimous for socialism and they have 20,000 members in this city. The street-car men, brass workers and many others are equally strong in their socialist attitude. Every one knows that the great stock yards strike was a tremendous educator for socialism and today it is a simple fact that the republican and democratic heelers in that neighborhood have absolutely thrown up their hands and are not attempting to carry on any campaign. Many capitalist politicians tell us that the socialist vote in Chicago alone will certainly be 50,000. But we know that tremendous pressure will be brought to bear to alter this situation. So I have placed the total state vote below what many expect in Chicago. It is practically certain, however, that several members of the legislature will be elected.

Indiana.—State Secretary Strickland reports that party receipts have doubled within the year. Comrade Mahoney of Terre Haute reports an extremely active agitation in that city and estimates the vote of Vigo county at 2,000. Clippings from the capitalist press grant us more than double our previous vote of 7,134 in 1902. Comrade Kelly, of Marion, reports active agitation and

increase of vote probable. Aside from township officials in the coal belt few officials will be elected. The U. M. W. members in Indiana as in Illinois are turning toward socialism in great numbers.

Iowa.—No report from State Secretary Jacobsen, but the national secretary states that the reason for this probably is that he is too hard at work as he has been actively engaged in speaking and working for some time. Various national organizers have also been sent through the state.

Kansas.—No report from the state secretary. This state has been having a boom of organization, but many of the locals established seem to be on paper and it is very difficult to tell just what will be the result. All agree that there is "something doing in Kansas" but just what the result will be is impossible to say as that state is proverbially uncertain. At a recent meeting of Comrade Debs in Wichita there were five thousand present and National Organizer Work sends in most enthusiastic reports of his Kansas meetings.

Kentucky.—State Secretary Lanfersiek reports for Newport that "Four years ago there was little agitation; this year we are holding from two to four meetings a week. About 300 papers distributed at street meetings per week. No comparison between the work done four years ago and now. This fall we will have Mills, Debs, Wentworth, and probably others. Nothing four years ago. Vote for Debs four years ago in Campbell county, (including Newport, Bellevue, Dayton) 205; for governor in 1903, 674. Adverse local conditions in Newport last year; eliminated now; expect county to poll vote of 1,000." He does not seem to expect much of a growth for the whole state as he only estimates vote of 3,000, which seems to contradict the Newport facts given. Comrade Geo. M. Jackson, who has been traveling through the mountain districts of Kentucky and Tennessee, was a recent visitor at the REVIEW office and reports a great interest in that locality. The mines and lumber are being exploited with wage labor and this is introducing the mountaineers at once to capitalism and socialism.

Louisiana.—State Secretary Hall reports that "while four years ago there was no organization whatever, today there are twenty locals and new ones organizing all along the line. National organizers and local speakers have covered a large proportion of the state during the last year. Hundreds of papers and pamphlets are being distributed and the demand increasing every day. We hope to poll 10 per cent of vote cast, say seven or eight thousand and secure official standing as a political party. Our vote may run 10,000 or more, as there is extreme dissatisfaction with the so-called Democratic party. Two-thirds of the reg-

istered voters staid away from the polls in the state election in May, 1904."

Maine.—The state secretary reports many times as much speaking, while the amount of literature rises from 50,000 pieces in 1900 to over 200,000 in 1904. Practically no organization in 1900, fourteen active locals at present. In the election just held about 1500 votes were cast for the socialist party candidate for governor, just about twice the vote cast for Debs in 1900. Vote this fall will probably be about 2,000.

Massachusetts.—No report from state secretary. Reports from various localities indicate that there is an almost complete recovery from the lethargy that seemed to follow the slight setback from the great "coal vote," and that the work of agitation and the enthusiasm that placed Massachusetts in the front rank of socialism in America is present with greater vigor than ever before. Comrade Renier of Springfield says that "twice the number of lectures and entertainments have been held as in 1900." He estimates the vote of that city at 1,200 as compared with 350 in 1900. Lynn expects 1,000 votes compared with 750 last year.

From Worcester comes the statement that "we are in about the same condition as four years ago." Ware says "hope to make gain over last year but do not feel sure we will do that." Haverhill reports probability of electing a representative, and some local officers.

Michigan.—This state carried on a very extensive "soap-box" campaign last summer. Indeed it seems to have been rather more extensive and expensive than the situation warranted and to have somewhat exhausted the organization. From all over the state however comes reports of a much greater interest in socialism than ever before. Socialist speakers report audiences many times larger than previously. Union men are mentioned as especially turning toward socialism in large numbers. The exactions of the transportation companies has also given Michigan one of the best movements among the farmers of any state. In Battle Creek the socialists have several members of the city government and keep up an active agitation.

Minnesota.—State Secretary Nash reports: "Four years ago there was one speaker in the state for the S. D. P. and one for the S. L. P., each remaining in the field about four weeks. This year the S. D. P., known as the Public Ownership Party, has had from two to three speakers in the field almost continuously for four or five months, and they will continue the work until election night, and then commence again for the next campaign. Literature was distributed in small quantities four years ago, and this year it is being sold in large quantities, besides which a large amount is being distributed free in almost all parts of the state. Four years ago there were seven locals in the state, and today we

have a little over sixty, with a constant call for speakers from various places throughout the state, where we have heretofore been unable to make any impression. The S. L. P. has become nearly disrupted, and only for the fact that the supreme court has come to its rescue, in giving it the name to which we are justly entitled according to the laws of this state they would not be in existence today. In denying us the name Socialist upon the official ballot, they have taken the only method that would resuscitate the S. L. P. corpse, which already smells to heaven, and has been discredited in all parts of the state. Most of its members have deserted its ranks, and are now working in conjunction with us; and those who still remain are too nearly dead to carry on any agitation, relying wholly upon the hope that people who do but little reading will vote wherever they see the word socialist." Comrade Nash makes no estimate of the vote, but reports from Crookston, Austin and Duluth, with general information from other centers makes it safe to expect that in spite of the adverse conditions regarding the name, there will be three times as many votes cast as in 1900. In Duluth, where there was no vote in 1900, and only 289 in 1902, a vote of between 500 and 1,000 is expected this year. In Crookston the vote of 250 of 1900 will probably be multiplied by four this fall.

Missouri.—Comrade Behrens, the candidate for governor, is also the president of the state Federation of Labor and he has been making a most active canvass. In St. Louis the socialist and trade union movement are very closely identified. There is both an English and German socialist paper published there and clippings from capitalist papers indicate that the socialist activity is very great.

Montana.—No report from the state secretary. Report from Local Butte states that many socialist voters have been driven out of the mines through a system of black-listing and hence will be disfranchised by resident qualifications. Agitation is greater than ever before. Reports from various quarters estimate increase at 100 percent over vote of 1902. Comrade Mabie, of Chico, however, does not find much more agitation there than four years ago and says while there will be considerable increase over 1900 there will be little over 1902 in that locality.

New Jersey.—State Secretary Killingback says: "Indications are we will add fifty per cent, making total this year of 8,000 votes. I will be greatly disappointed if we do not reach 10,000. All the old S. L. P. leaders of any consequence are with us this year." National secretary reports that New Jersey is buying more literature than any other state in the union and seems inclined to think that Comrade Strobell's estimate is very much within the bounds of probability.

Comrade Strobell, of the literature committee, declares that

he is not given to roseate stories but "All the congressional districts have tickets and there are good prospects of getting everyone of the 21 local tickets filled. The literature is going out in great quantities, which will be vastly increased when we are through with the nominations. It seems to me we may safely estimate on double the vote of last year in the state."

New York.—The following report from State Secretary John C. Chase gives an excellent view of the work in that state: "We are carrying on more agitation in this campaign than ever before in the history of the movement in this state. In Greater New York, all through the summer months open air meetings have been held nightly, and speakers almost without number, have held forth, expounding the principles of socialism. Many new speakers have been developed within the last year or two, and with the little army of speakers now available in Greater New York, something like an average of 60 meetings a week have been and are being held. Several speakers of national reputation have been touring the state, under the direction of the state committee and others will be constantly at work, until the close of the campaign. We have 48 locals of the party in the state most of them active and carrying on the work of agitation either in conjunction with the state committee, or on their own account. Our candidate for governor has been devoting his entire time to the work of agitation since July 1st and will continue until election day. Literature: The state committee has issued up to this time, something like six hundred thousand pieces of literature and before the end of the campaign we will have issued three times that amount. As our party in New York state is known as the Social Democratic party, we are obliged to constantly keep our name and emblem before the voters, and we therefore, find ourselves obliged to issue much literature bearing upon this particular point, besides the literature of an educational character. We will distribute half a million of "The Mission of the S. D. P.," the leaflet written by Comrade Debs and re-arranged for use in this state. We also have 5,000 copies of the pamphlet, "Unionism and Socialism," for use at all meetings and many other valuable pamphlets that are bound to make socialists. Probable vote. The vote of the Social Democratic party in New York state last year was 33,399. This vote was cast at an election in an "odd year" with no gubernatorial candidate and was, for that reason perhaps, somewhat of an abnormal vote. To hold this vote even, would mean a good substantial gain, but conservatively speaking, I would set the vote for Debs and Hanford at 35,000. There is no probability of electing any officials this year in this state. There are some districts in New York city where the possibilities of electing assemblymen in the near future are very bright, but this

year's canvass will not result in the election of any of our candidates, unless the unexpected happens."

Rochester reports agitation "twice as much" and party organization "twice as effective" with a probable vote of 3,500. From Yonkers speaking is reported about the same, "while much more literature is being distributed and a vote of one thousand is expected for West Chester county."

North Carolina.—This state has a socialist electoral ticket in the field for the first time. National Organizer Towner has been working in North and South Carolina for the last six weeks and reports prospect of a good socialist vote.

Ohio.—The State Secretary Gardner reports that a circuit tour for speakers so arranged as to keep expenses very low, embraces 35 Ohio towns. In addition out of door work "has developed speakers in nearly every town." This is contrasted with the condition in 1900 "when every great while a speaker would come through the state hitting the high places only." There were 14 locals with a membership of between two and three hundred in 1900. There are now 58 locals with 1,500 members in good standing. The probable vote is "very hard to state," but I think I am conservative in saying that the vote for Eugene V. Debs will be 20,000 in this state.

Comrade Bandlow, of Cleveland, who is noted for his ultra-conservatism in making estimates, thinks that the vote of the county which includes Cleveland, will be about 3,000, an increase of nearly 50 percent over all previous elections. The secretary of Local Cleveland says that 4,000 is a "conservative estimate" for the city of Cleveland, while republican and democratic politicians are worrying about the possibility of Comrade Max S. Hayes being elected to congress.

Toledo expects a vote of 2,500 and the secretary of Local Newark says there will be a gain of 200 per cent in Licking county. In Butler county one thousand votes are expected, over 100 percent increase.

Oklahoma Territory.—In few localities has there been as rapid a growth in socialist sentiment, agitation and organization as in Oklahoma, and were statehood a fact, a large accession to the vote for Debs and Hanford might be expected from here. Comrade Hart, of Kingfisher, estimates the total vote at between four and eight thousand. It was about 2,000 in 1900. Whereas there was almost no organization four years ago there are now over one hundred locals in good standing and more being constantly organized.

Oregon.—Acting State Secretary Axelson reports that organization is in rather poor shape, "only 410 dues paying members in July." Says there has been little definite agitation carried on by the state organization. As to the probable vote he says that "last

June the vote stood for superior judge, 6,419, an increase of 25 percent over the vote of two years before. We are looking for at least ten percent increase again next November. Some think we will double it, but I doubt that strongly." The national secretary informs us that steps are being taken to send a speaker into Oregon for the remainder of the campaign which will probably stir things up.

Pennsylvania.—State secretary sent no report. Comrade Cohen, of Local Philadelphia, reports that fifteen street meetings are held weekly, at which 150 pieces of literature are sold and 200 given away. Estimates the vote at 3,500, more than double that of 1900. As a whole, Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts, is suffering from an overdose of "coal-vote," which will take some time to digest. A large proportion of the locals organized at the time of the anthracite strike have disappeared, and the whole state organization has been disarranged by the extra work then undertaken and the relapse which followed it. Nevertheless socialism is steadily increasing and it is probable that the vote of 1902 will be increased by something like thirty to fifty percent. In the industrial centers, such as Pittsburg, there is considerable activity, although in some of these places the relics of the S. L. P. still continue to form a disturbing element, although on the whole their best workers have amalgamated with the socialist party.

Report from Scranton says that there was no organization in 1900. It began in 1903 with 7 members, now have 33 names on books. Vote in 1902, 918; 1903, 360; estimated for 1904, 800. "The main reason for this inactivity is the general disgust of always seeing two opposing socialist ballots. As soon as the socialist workmen stop squabbling among themselves fully 3,000 votes can be gained here."

Tennessee.—No report by state secretary. Reports from various portions of the state tell of several national organizers doing good work where there was nothing done in 1902. The estimate of the total vote varies from 5,000 to 7,000. The secretary of Local Harriman reports increased interest and a probable vote of 60 compared with 13 in 1900. This is a fairly typical report.

Texas.—No report from state secretary. Comrade Kerrigan, of Dallas, reports much more speaking throughout the state than ever before. A great "encampment" was arranged for at Grand Saline at the time of the state convention in August, which aroused much interest. Party organization is much improved. Hostile legislation disfranchising a portion of the working class, and a ballot law that permits fraud on a wholesale scale, will prevent the casting and counting of any very large socialist vote. Still it should show an increase of fifty percent over 1902.

Utah.—Comrade Joseph Gilbert, editor *The Crisis*, writes as follows: "Four years ago the socialist candidate for president

received 700 votes. At that time there was not much of an organization, what little activity there was being mostly confined to Salt Lake City and Ogden, with a sprinkling in some of the mining camps. At no time has the movement, until the present, been in what may be considered a properly organized condition, having been cursed with factionalism. The entire vote of Utah this coming election will be about 90,000, of which a conservative estimate of the socialist vote is a little over 6,000, or about seven percent."

Vermont.—State Secretary Anderson writes that while there has been little more speaking this year than in 1900 there has been much more literature distributed. In 1900 there were four locals; now there are six. The state vote on September 6th was 757, as opposed to 596 in 1900. This last vote makes the party an official one. Vermont is one of the hardest states to affect. Its conservative republicanism is traditional. But something of a beginning has been made.

Washington.—Reports from various parts of this state agree that it will be one of those to add heavily to the increased socialist vote at the coming election. Comrade Scott, writing for the state secretary, reports that agitation both by speakers and literature is much greater than four years ago. In regard to organization he states that "there are two or three applications for charters coming in weekly." He concludes that "two years ago the state vote was about 4,700. Expect at least 12,000 this autumn. The country districts seem to be developing faster than the city."

Hoquiam looks for a gain of nearly three fold and says that "two strong union labor men have been nominated for legislature in this county and their election is possible."

West Virginia.—In this state the movement has been created since 1900. As Comrade Klein, state secretary, says: "Agitation,—1900, none; in 1904, Debs one speech, Wilkins 40, and a number of local speakers. Nineteen hundred, no organization; 1904, complete state organization, with about 25 locals." He adds that the socialists are conceded 5,000 votes, and stand a chance of electing county officers in Cobell and Fayette counties.

Wisconsin.—State secretary, Miss E. H. Thomas, writes as follows: "The social democratic (socialist) party in Wisconsin will use during the present campaign about double the amount of agitation through speakers, and about five times as much literature, as was used in this state in the campaign of 1900. The number of locals in Wisconsin has also about doubled during the last four years. It is impossible to estimate the vote at this time, but it will undoubtedly show a large increase over our vote in the last presidential campaign. We shall elect quite a number of assemblymen, and hope to elect one or two congressmen." From Racine comes the report that "We have 10 branches, with a mem-

bership of about 150. We have only been organized four years, and our vote was 117 for Debs in 1900, 217 in 1902 for governor; 676 in 1903 for mayor, and 1,149 in 1904 for city treasurer. We expect to get 1,600 or more this fall. Last spring we gave the elected candidates a close chase in four wards, being only from 12 to 30 votes behind. We may elect our assemblyman in the first district." The fight in Wisconsin between LaFollette and the "Stalwart" Republicans will drive many voters into the socialist ranks, especially since the republican national convention turned LaFollette and his "socialistic" measures down so hard.

Wyoming.—No report from state secretary. Secretary of Local Laramie reports a full ticket in the field, active agitation, extensive circulation of literature and an increase of at least 100 percent in the vote.

A. M. SIMONS.

The following was received from Comrade Debs just as we go to press. He writes from Los Angeles, California.

"Judging by the crowds that attend our meetings and the enthusiasm that prevails everywhere this will be an epoch-making year in the annals of the working class awakening and socialist party development. In all my experience there has been nothing to compare to it. Want of time prevents me from responding to your inquiries in detail, but I feel free to say in a general way that the campaign and the outlook this year are so far in advance of the campaign of four years ago that comparison reduces the latter to insignificant proportions. Where we had one speaker then we have now a score or more. Literally tons of revolutionary literature are being distributed and the working class and the people generally are eager to read and be enlightened as never before. The party organization is in excellent condition and harmony and good will prevail in its councils, while a spirit of aggressive activity animates the whole membership. The party interest of the REVIEW is to be commended and will doubtless have its good results.

EUGENE V. DEBS."

The International Congress.

NEVER before has the name "International" been so well deserved by any gathering as by the one which met last month in Amsterdam. There were 474 delegates present distributed as follows among the various countries:

Delegates.

Italy	3
Denmark	7
Germany	68
Hungary	3
Australia	1
Canada	1
United States:—	
Socialist Party	9
Socialist Labor Party	1
Social Democratic Women's Party	1
Armenia	1
England:—	
Social Democratic Federation	34
Independent Labor Party	31
Fabian Society	5
Liverpool Fabian Society	1
Labour Representation Committee	2
Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain	2
Trade Unions	26
Argentine Republic	2
Austria	11
Belgium	38
Bohemia	2
Bulgaria	2
Spain	5
France:—	
Parti Socialiste de France	46
Parti Socialiste Francais	39
Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire	6
Holland	33
Japan	1
Norway	2
Poland:—	
Social Democratic Party of Russia, Poland and Lithuania...	6
Socialist Polish Party "proletarian"	
Social Democratic Polish Party Austria, Russia and Germany...	20
Russia:—	
Social Democratic Party of Russia	31

Delegates.

Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia	6
Judischer Arbeiterbund	8
Sweden	6
Switzerland	7
Servia	1
<hr/>	
Total delegates,	474

Most of the resolutions which were adopted were given in our last issue and, while some changes were made in these resolutions yet, in few cases were these of any great importance.

The one great question of the Congress was the question of tactics. For the last five years there has been a steady attempt on the part of those who had not yet fully adopted the socialist position to bring the socialist movement toward the unconverted rather than having the latter come to the party. In a way this is but a tribute to the tremendous strength of the socialist movement at the present time. Yet it could not but be felt that there were great dangers in this tendency. In France, Germany, Italy and England this movement had attained considerable strength.

Germany had settled the question at the Dresden conference by the resolution declaring in favor of the class struggle position. In France, however, the fight still raged. While Millerand had been driven from the party yet Jaures still maintained the desirability of socialist support for bourgeois governments. The *Parti Socialiste de France* (Guesdists) demanded that the International Congress express itself on this question. In order to make the contest appear as little as possible like a mere extension of the internal quarrels of France, they did not formulate a resolution of their own but simply requested that the International Congress adopt the Dresden resolution. For several days the struggle was carried on in committee. Vandervelde wished to modify the Dresden resolution so as to make it less of a direct condemnation of Jaures. The majority of the committee however were in favor of the Dresden resolution. Nevertheless both were brought before the congress. Then began what was by far the greatest debate ever held in a socialist body. Jaures defended his position in what all agree was one of the most brilliant oratorical efforts ever put forth in a socialist organization. Even his friends agree as to the contrast between him and Bebel in this respect. Says the I. L. P. Labor Leader "Jaures used no notes and bore down upon you like some rushing mountain stream. . . . He used all the devices of the man who plays on the feelings of his audience. Now he spoke slowly, now quickly, at one time he repeated a sentence for increased effect and at another

time he let his sentences chase one another as if his whole object was to institute an oratorical Derby. Bebel on the contrary made points instead of playing on people's feelings."

Nearly all of our readers know the result of the struggle. Vandervelde's movement was defeated by a vote of 16 to 24, after which the Dresden resolution was adopted by 27 votes to 3, the countries being divided as follows:

FOR THE RESOLUTION.

England, 1 vote; Germany, 2; Belgium, 2; Bulgaria, 2; Spain, 2; United States, 2; France, 1; Austria, 2; Hungary, 2; Italy, 2; Japan, 2; Norway, 1; Poland, 2; Russia, 2. Total, 25.

AGAINST THE RESOLUTION.

England, 1 vote; Australia, 2; France, 1; Norway, 1. Total, 5.

Twelve votes were withheld as follows:

Argentine Republic, 2 votes; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; Holland, 2; Switzerland, 2; Sweden, 2.

A word of explanation as to the method of voting should be given. Each country is allowed two votes and these may be divided if the delegation does not agree.

It is worth while to notice some of the comments which have appeared upon the action of the congress since its adjournment. These are really of more importance than the speeches as they indicate the effect upon the various national movements. Jaures makes a most bitter attack, as might have been expected, and intimates that he will pay no attention to it. But perhaps the most striking development has been upon the English movement. We have noted several times that the Labor Representation Committee and the Independent Labor Party had practically left the socialist position. The *Labor Leader* has been filled with denunciation of the congress and Keir Hardie in his report of the International descends to deliberate misrepresentation when he declares that the supporters of the Dresden resolution "assume that the lot of the worker must keep growing from bad to worse until it grows intolerable when the worker will rise in political revolution and overthrow the entire system." He is specially untruthful when he continues by saying that Kautsky is the leading representative of this faction, and we cannot but wonder if the English socialists are so utterly ignorant of Kautsky's writings as to believe such falsehoods. We are not surprised therefore to see in the next number of the *Labor Leader* after the one containing this remarkable article another communication from Keir Hardie in which he draws up an indictment of the "class war" and denies the entire class struggle philosophy. Incidentally the article betrays a most pitiful ignorance (if we grant him honesty) of the socialist philosophy.

This attitude of Comrade Hardie's is all the more remarkable since it places him and the handful of Labor Representation Com-

mittee leaders of England in a class entirely by themselves. In Jaures' speech at the International Congress he was very careful to declare that he did not abandon the class war, and both Bernstein and Vandervelde insist that their tactics are in accord with the class struggle and indignantly deny that they have repudiated the class struggle philosophy. Indeed, the only question in the congress, so far as is shown by the debate, was simply as to the advisability of attempting to lay down International rules. Kautsky declares in the *Neue Zeit* that "among the very numerous speakers there was scarcely one that completely accepted the tactics of Jaures. In spite of all personal sympathy which existed for him nearly all the speakers repudiated his tactics, and the fact that there were so many votes against the Dresden resolution is largely due to considerations as to the impossibility of formulating rules for International tactics."

JAURES' SPEECH.

The following speech of Jaures is translated from *Le Petit Republique* with the assistance of the German translation which appeared in the *Vorwärts*:

"It is a difficult task to follow a speaker who is charged with the duty of impartiality expounding hostile positions. To follow a report delivered in such a calm manner is to expose one's self to the appearance of violence, or at least to passion, which would be displeasing after such an appeal for unity as that to which you have just listened. But socialist unity must not be an oppressive uniformity which would deny that right of criticism and discussion which is the essence of socialism.

"I do not claim to speak in the name of the Adler-Vandervelde minority, but only for myself and the majority of those who voted for me.

"The Dresden resolution which was adopted by the Germans after a long, theoretical and practical debate gives rise to a multitude of ideas. I can barely touch upon these and state why I am opposed to it. I wish to indicate our position in the debate and our point of view in International socialism. If I vote against the Dresden resolution is it not because it has been moved and supported by certain socialists who are opposed to us, or because its adoption will enable the Guesdeists to say, 'this proves our claim that you have for years deserted the class struggle position and your policy is now denounced by the International movement.' I am absolutely certain that the French proletariat will not be deceived. They know and will remember that our policy has always been for social, moral and intellectual progress, and has never been marked by a desertion of the class struggle.

"The working class will not disavow us. If it is sought to throw the weight of the vote of the International congress into the battle in France, we demand that we take account of the Socialist, revolutionary, republican proletariat who have opposed those who declared that the republic, and the secularization of the schools

were not worth an hour's time of the proletariat, and ought to be sacrificed for the hope of the automatic installation of a collectivist regime through the play of blind forces. It is we who will demand an account of Vaillant for his denial of the secular, revolutionary, republican traditions of the Blanquists. (Applause.)

"It is not the situation in France that disturbs me. I thoroughly recognize that impliedly or explicitly the Dresden resolution recognizes the dual necessity of an immediate and a revolutionary socialist action. It is right in saying that socialism must be carried on by a class organization, independent in its end and actions and devoted to the complete transformation of the capitalist system with the object of abolishing all exploitation and restoring to the collective workers all the fruits of their labor.

"It would appear from Vandervelde's report that to him the reformists seem to consider reforms as a means of consolidating the bourgeois regime. I know not whom he means by this, but it applies neither to me nor to my friends. All our reforms have for their revolutionary object the emancipation of oppressed and exploited labor. (Applause.)

"We wish to be autonomous in our object and in the political and economic organization of the working class, not isolated into factional sects, but participating in the whole historic environment of proletarian revolutionary activity. In so far as the Dresden resolution recognizes the necessity of socialist autonomy, I agree with it. But, you must recognize that socialism must make its appeal to all the forces of democracy if it is to accomplish immediate reforms. We must not cease to grasp and to utilize democratic evolution to further proletarian evolution whenever it has need of such assistance. I have heard Guesde at a previous meeting, where we have spoken together in socialist propaganda, declare that out of thirty-seven million citizens, not more than 200,000 individuals had purely capitalist class interests. I have heard Bebel say the same thing. It would be foolish to leave this half developed democracy to itself. This is why it is necessary that the proletariat with its close organization must make use of all democracy. The Socialistic Radical party of France is neither proletarian nor capitalist, counting among its members the artisans of the small industries and the country workers. This party will accept partial reforms such as secularization, progressive income tax, inheritance tax, and the progressive socialization of mines, insurance, sugar factories, and all monopolistic industries. We do not need to merge ourselves with them but we would be fools and criminals to reject their co-operation if we may thereby realize possible reforms which would hasten the coming of the new era. (Applause.)

"That which leads me to vote against the Dresden resolution is that it appears to me to be an attempt to set forth as a supreme formula of socialism what is really but a socialist tradition. To

Bebel, Ferri and Kautsky I will say that it is a singular method of establishing socialist unity in France to place a weapon in the hands of one of the factions to be used against the other. Above all else, I am opposed to the Dresden resolution because it implies a sort of deep distrust of the proletariat. Its authors seem to fear that the proletariat will compromise itself and lose itself through its collaboration with democracy. The International socialism which would renovate the entire world and free it from capitalism speaks to the proletariat that it expects to accomplish this if it were an incompetent minor incapable of directing itself,—a blind man in a strange city. It is as a protest against this position that we oppose the Dresden resolution. It is because it would seek to limit the diverse activity of the proletariat by narrow rules and bind and injure the working class where it has the need of the greatest liberty of initiation and activity.

"The more mature and stronger the proletariat is in any country the more decisively does it move toward our tactics. Wherever freedom of movement and action rules, there new problems arise. So it is in Italy where the bourgeois democracy is ready to take new forward steps if socialism does not neglect to fulfill its political role. In England labor organizations are beginning to come to socialism. Bebel says that it was the reforms of the English bourgeoisie which prevented the adherence of the proletariat to class-conscious socialism. I think on the contrary that class-conscious socialism has not in its beginning had a sufficiently close contact with labor organizations. It was a misfortune that the socialist parties were not closely united to the trade unions at the beginning and that they were so dominated by revolutionary catastrophic theories. Because they stood waiting for a catastrophic revolution the English socialists have not been able to become a part of the great labor movement. The bond between the proletariat and socialism is just now growing, but this is because of socialist political activity in social reforms. In Belgium, it is possible to overthrow the clerical party within two years if the liberals and socialists unite. The same problems will then present themselves in Belgium. Our brothers will then have the same trials to endure, the same difficulties to surmount that we now have.

"It is admitted that the Dresden resolution is only a provisional measure even for Germany. When the German socialists brought this resolution before the International congress they labored under a fatal illusion because they thought that their National rule might be made to serve as a uniform International regulation adaptable to the internal situation of every country. Since we are compelled to set forth our internal situation, we hope that our German friends will permit us to examine theirs. In seeking to force their Dresden resolution upon us they but communicate to the International congress the spirit of uncer-

tainty and of hesitation with which they are stricken. You have given to International socialism a method of action and of systematic organization. You are a great party, and to you belongs the future of Germany, one of the most forcible and intelligent of the great divisions of humanity. But there is a great contrast between the appearance and the reality of your great force in spite of your electoral success. It is apparent to the eyes of all that this formidable electoral force of yours, valuable as it may be for propaganda, has little effect because you refuse to utilize democratic instruments which are necessary to give it effect. The Dresden resolution will impose upon the whole International movement the rules of inaction and necessity of inaction which it has imposed upon the German movement, which have taken the instruments for transformation from the German proletariat. They are lacking in revolutionary tradition. They have not conquered universal suffrage and democracy, they have received it from above, and to-day those who gave it threaten to withdraw it. And so it is that you in your 'red kingdom' of Saxony may find your universal suffrage taken away from you without a possibility of resistance. Your publications represent me as the corrupter of the proletariat. Yet you have been obliged to permit your official organ to sign a retraction at the time of the Krupp affair. Why? You have no revolutionary tradition. You are the only country in the world where socialism will not be enacted when it secures a majority. You have no true parliamentary regime, for your parliament is, after all, but a plaything in the hands of more powerful forces. You are therefore neither parliamentary nor revolutionary socialists. To be sure, you are large and strong; you have your destiny. Humanity waited upon your congress at Dresden. At least, *Vorwärts* has proclaimed that the kingdom was yours after the election and that you would convoke the International at Berlin, but the fact is that you are powerless. (Applause.) You have blindly groped hither and thither and concealed your powerlessness of action by taking refuge in theoretical formulas that conceal the political aim. (Applause.) And now you would seek to bind the International with all its forces, all its powers, and make it share your temporary powerlessness, your momentary inactivity.

"Where then does your movement encounter opposition? In France, Belgium, England, Switzerland, those countries where democratic life is most intense and most effective, and it is just this fact which proves that your Dresden resolution is a menace to the International."

BEBEL'S SPEECH.

Bebel replied to Jaures in a speech of which the following is a translation of the *Vorwärts* report:

"The speech which Comrade Jaures has made to-day would

give you the wholly false impression that we German Social Democrats had called forth this debate. Neither before nor since the Dresden congress have we thought of such a thing for a moment. It is due much more to a fraction of the French comrades who believe that our Dresden resolution should be adopted as the foundation of the tactics of the social democrats in all parliamentary ruled countries. It is self-evident that we would decide for our own resolution, and all the more so since the causes that had led us to adopt it in Germany have appeared in a large number of other countries. Furthermore that events since the Paris congress of 1900 have shown that in spite of the unanimous adoption of the Kautsky resolution, these tendencies, these practices have continued to advance and in many countries have secured an important influence. Therefore, it is doubly desirable to pass judgment on these tendencies.

When one listened to Jaures, the question continually arose, how is it possible that a majority could be found in the committee for such a resolution? He has made it appear as if the other nations must be absolute idiots to vote for such a resolution. He has represented it as the abolition of all freedom, of individual thought, as a suppression of the minority, in short, as the greatest intellectual terrorism conceivable in the social democracy. Hence, it is characteristic that a few of our friends who were not wholly in accord with all the phrases of the resolution have favored the Adler-Vandervelde movement, while the whole sense and content of our resolution remains untouched. From this standpoint Jaures' whole critique is directed upon the sense and content of its significance. Jaures says this belongs only to monarchical Germany. To be sure, Germany is not only one monarchy, it is almost two dozen monarchies, and for a monarchy at the very least, two dozen too many. (Laughter and cries of "good"). So conditions in Germany are actually extraordinary. Certainly Germany is a reactionary, feudalistic police dominated land—one of the worst ruled countries in Europe. We know this who have to fight this system day after day and who bear the traces of its workings upon our bodies. We do not need any one from other countries to tell us in what miserable conditions we are. But the facts are such that our resolution may perhaps give the correct tactics to be followed in other countries.

"My opinions on monarchy and republic have been frequently given in no unmistakable manner in the bourgeois press. I repeat them now outside the committee. It goes without saying that we are republicans, socialist republicans, (applause), that is indeed one of the strongest complaints of Count Bülow and Prince Bismarck and the whole German reaction, from all times up to the present, against us. We have never denied this, but we do not rush after the bourgeois republic. However much we may envy

you French on account of your republic, and however much we may wish it, we do not think it is worth while to let our heads be cracked for it (thunderous applause). Whether bourgeois monarchy or bourgeois republic, both are class states, both must from their very nature be considered as the supporters of the capitalist social order; both must use all their strength to the end that the bourgeois retain complete power in legislation, for the very moment that they lose political power they lose also their economic and social position.

"Monarchy is not so bad as you paint it, nor the republic so good. Even in our military, agrarian, police Germany we have institutions which would be ideal in comparison with those of your bourgeois republic. Look at the tax legislation in Prussia and other individual states and then look at France. I know of no other country in Europe that has so oppressive, reactionary, exploiting a system of taxation as France. In opposition to this exhausting system with a budget of three and a half billion francs, we at least have a progressive income and property tax.

"And so far as concerns the improvement of the laboring class the bourgeois republic also utilizes all its forces against the laborer. Where are the laborers used with a more universal and oppressive brutality than in the great bourgeois republic on the other side of the ocean, the ideal of so many of you? In Switzerland also, a far more democratic republic than even France, six times in this last short summer, the militia has been used against the laborers who sought to make use of the right of coalition and union through their small strikes. I envy you and your republic especially on account of the universal suffrage for all representative bodies. But I tell you frankly that if we had the suffrage in the same degree and with the same freedom as you, we would have shown you something wholly different (tremendous applause) from what you have yet shown us. But, when with you, laborers and employers come into conflict, there arises from you a shriek to high heaven against the French proletariat. What is your militia to-day other than a most acceptable instrument for the maintenance of class dominion? There has been no great battle in the last four years either at Lille, Roubaix, Marseilles, Brest, Martinique, or more recently in Normandy against the striking workers in which the Waldeck-Rousseau, Millerand ministry and the Combes ministry have not used the military against the laborers. In November the Paris police have broken into the Parisian labor headquarters in the most shamefully violent manner and have wounded and clubbed 70 laborers, and then some of our socialist friends in the Chamber have refused to vote for the punishment of the chief of police. (Hisses) Jaures has delivered a lecture to us about what we should do. I will only tell him that if in Germany any one had thought for the sake of favoring the government of supporting

an order of the day which surrendered the most important interest of the proletariat, he would find himself on the next day without any vote (tremendous applause) he would not remain a representative of the people another hour. We are too well disciplined for that.

"Jaures said that the Dresden resolution betrayed a spirit of uncertainty and doubt. I am greatly astonished that so widely cultured and historically correct a man as Comrade Jaures should make such a statement concerning the Dresden resolution and the German Social Democracy. With the exception of Turkey and Russia we Germans have the worst ruled government in Europe. But, in spite of that by means of the universal suffrage in the Reichstag and the corrupted suffrage for the individual states, we have sent a great number of representatives to the legislative bodies of Germany. Have these representatives ever rejected any reform, ever refused to support an advance? Just the contrary. If we have secured the least little bit of political and social advance in Germany, we social democrats can ascribe it alone to our account (bravo). We can do this supported even by the threat of our enemy Bismarck and against the attacks of our friend Jaures (applause). Only by us are they forced and whipped on to reform, and the social democrats are so charitable as to accept all concessions that they can wring from their opponents, whenever an advance is actually offered whether to-day from the government, to-morrow from the liberal parties, or the day after from the Center. But in the next hour we will fight them all, Center, government, representatives and Liberals, as our constant enemies. The bottomless abyss between us and the government, as well as the bourgeois parties, is not forgotten for a moment. In England also the government grants its reforms only because it would hinder the rise of a powerful socialist movement. The English bourgeoisie is the shrewdest in the world (hear, hear). If in the universal elections next year English liberalism is victorious it will make one of you, (perhaps John Burns) an under State Secretary, not in order to advance toward socialism, but in order to be able to say to the laborers that they have freely granted what is denied upon the battle field (applause from the English delegates) but in order to hold the votes of laborers and to avoid socialism (stormy applause from the English delegates.) What sort of services has Jaures performed through his alliances?

"If the republic of France was in danger the last few years, (I accept that as a fact), you were wholly right when you worked with the bourgeois defenders of the republic to rescue it. We would have done exactly the same. Neither do we offer you any reproach for your struggle against clericalism. Unite, if you are alone too weak, with the Liberals for this purpose. We would have done the same, but after the battle we are different people.

"And where was it during the last few years that Jaures has rescued the world peace from danger? We also have *spoken* for the peace of the world, but in contrast to us you *voted* for a military and naval state (the Jauresists "No") for a colonial state (Jauresists "No") for indirect taxes, for the secret fund (objections among the Jauresists) and thereby supported everything that endangered peace (loud applause). We cannot give a vote of confidence to the budget of a capitalist government. (Loud applause.)

"Jaures hopes through this co-operation with capitalist parties to secure the nationalization of railroads and mines. One of the most important points in his programme, then, the monarchical Germany has already accomplished (merriment.) If we in Germany really wished such an advance we would naturally have also supported the bourgeois parties, but we would have rejected most decisively any permanent alliance with these elements.

"Jaures believes that for Germany also the Dresden resolution will only have a professional significance. It seems to me that on this point he is a very poor prophet. I certainly can think of no conditions in which we would not act according to its fundamental principles. Therefore I have never heard a more outrageous, contradictory assertion than that the Dresden resolution arose from a spirit of doubt and uncertainty. It was directed at just these doubters and uncertain individuals who sought to corrupt our old and tested tactics, and it is a sign of our security that we have never thought of excommunicating anybody.

"Jaures spoke further of the political powerlessness of the German Social Democracy. What did he expect us to do after we had attained our three million? Did he expect us to set the three million in motion and lead them before the Imperial castle? (Merriment.) I have said immediately after this great victory that things would not at once be very much different. Three million is not enough for us, but give us four and eight million and then we will see. (Loud applause.) What you expect us to do at present when we are opposed to a capitalist majority of eight million, I certainly do not know. But just as we have never hitherto taken a step backwards, so in the future we shall march forward on the road of the Dresden resolution and rejoice when our opponents make way for us. (Applause.)

"To-day we have only the moral weight of a strong minority and we can do no more. Certainly, the proposed laws that we support with our votes often find their way into the government waste basket. So much the better for our agitation. If reasonable and necessary propositions do not become laws we thereby gain. But says Jaures as soon as we had received our three million votes 'the idea was suggested to abolish the Reichstag suffrage.' But Comrade Jaures, what does that show, except the

fright of the bourgeoisie? The great stream of universal suffrage swept round a little island, the water rose and those upon the island saw with fear the mathematically calculated moment in which the water would submerge the island. But what do you think would happen in France if you had two million votes? Do you think your bourgeoisie would look on peacefully? (Unrest and laughter among the Jauresists.) Just wait and see. 'Your helplessness arises from the fact that universal suffrage was given to you. You have no revolutionary principles.' So says Jaures. But the French bourgeoisie have helped the proletariat of 1848 to conquer the right of suffrage and when the latter demanded social reforms it went down in the June massacres. It was not the fighting spirit of the French comrades which gave them the republic (unrest in the French delegation), but Bismarck's victory which captured forced your emperor to give you a republic. That is no disgrace (Great merriment). And in Germany when Bismarck gave us universal suffrage he was obliged to refer it to the revolutionary traditions of 1848 and 1849. That his plan to hold the bourgeoisie back with the help of a little socialist party was not carried out is due to the German social democracy.

"The Millerand episode has now gone by, but the quarrels arising out of it and which so greatly injured the French socialist movement still continue. Concerning this confusion of minds a fine statement was made by—Jaures in the *Cosmopolis* of 1898. (Cries of 'hear, hear.') 'Socialists cannot take power gradually. One must wait until it can all be taken. (Jaures, 'Very true.') We can co-operate in securing partial reforms, but whoever sets a new life principle as a goal in place of the existing one can only accept the entire power. If we were to take but a part, this influence would be paralyzed by the present social order. The new ideal would not thereby be realized but compromised. We can attain to this in a crisis and cannot come out of it again.' (Hear, hear.) How prophetically, Comrade Jaures, have you foreseen developments. (Jaures 'No, no.' Great merriment.) You yourselves have made the worst compromise by your continuous support of Millerand. That was the most significant step of your life, the most dangerous adherent that you could have given to International socialism. (Loud applause.) Millerand did not greet the International Socialist congress of 1900, but rather made his obeisance before the bloodiest despot in Europe—the Czar. And when we went to Pere La Chaise to honor the murdered Communards by laying a wreath upon their graves, then were we greeted by the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry. There were more police agents than Deputies, and they did everything possible to make an International recognition of the Communards impossible. This one thing should have been enough to have made Millerand for them impossible. (Cheering and applause.) And since then, we have

seen that in every vote in the French parliament the Jauresist faction has split into two or three divisions, such as is seen in Germany only among the most decadent capitalist party, the National Liberals, and now a fraction of the proletarian party in France offers us this same spectacle, with the natural result that the party is compromised and demoralized. Victor Hugo could once call the French bourgeoisie "the light of the world." The French social democrats should occupy the same place in the movement for International socialism. Unfortunately the French socialists offer a spectacle the very opposite of admirable. We must do everything to see to it that when this spectacle, for which we all over the world are responsible, is ended that at last French socialism may take the place to which its intellectual and economic powers entitle it, and therefore we should vote for the Dresden resolution. I have no fear of the consequences. On the contrary the French proletariat is not what it is my firm conviction that it is, if it does not accept the warning of the congress. Do you, then, if possible, adopt the Dresden resolution unanimously?" (Tremendous applause, which was continuously renewed and then, after Bebel had long taken his place broke out again and again. Countless cheers broke through the sound of hand-clapping and many delegates were on their feet waving their handkerchiefs.)

This whole discussion is interesting when taken in connection with the evolution of socialist thought as displayed by successive International congresses. The Vienna *Volks Tribun* calls attention to the fact that "a short distance from Amsterdam at The Hague, in the year 1872, there was a congress of the 'old International;' a little proletarian coffee house was then large enough to accommodate the few people who had come together to consider the development of the labor movement who could sit round a single table as they worked out the various formulas which were to influence the course of universal history and turn it into new paths. What that little body of ridiculed and despised but able men then placed upon paper has to-day become living fact. Out of a variety of theoretical theses a popular movement has arisen, clearer and more comprehensive than the world has ever known. Then we had principles, to-day, visible facts; then, thoughts, to-day, deeds."

At that time, there was the greatest diversity and sharpest antagonism in the most elementary principles. In London in a final break was made with the anarchistic followers of Bakunin. Still, however, the divergence of principles and the antagonism of individuals was so great that the proceedings were continually interrupted by personal encounters, and it was only through the frequent intervention of capitalist police that deliberation was at all possible. Even, at the congresses of 1900 in Paris there were

times when the comrades came close to physical encounter, and the capitalist press hailed the inevitability of a split in the ranks of the socialists. To-day however fierce may sound the phrases which Bebel and Jaures hurl at each other the questions to be decided are after all largely doctrinaire in their character. That socialists disagree over International tactics is not remarkable. That they had reached a basic unity which permitted them to discuss the possibility of International tactics was a long step ahead of the condition reached in any previous congress.

The next congress will be held at Stuttgart in 1907, the German comrades having given assurance that freedom of speech would be permitted. This would be the first International congress ever held within the borders of the country having the strongest socialist movement.

The International Socialist Bureau reported that twenty-four nations were now represented on its committee. It will continue to have its seat at Brussels. An Inter-parliamentary committee was also formed having its seat for the present at Amsterdam. The proceedings of the congress will be issued in English, French and German, and can be procured through the International Secretary at Brussels for 25 cents.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

"The Congress declares:

"That in order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism, it is necessary there should be but one Socialist Party in each country as against the parties of capitalists, just as there is but one proletariat in each country.

"For these reasons, it is the imperative duty of all comrades and all Socialist organizations to strive to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles established by the international Congresses, that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks.

"To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau, as well as all parties within the countries where this unity exists, will cheerfully offer their services and co-operation."

FIRST OF MAY.

"Whereas the demonstration of the workers on the First of May has for object the common upholding, on a fixed day, and in all the countries where there is a modern working-class movement, of the cause of the proletariat, especially the protection of the workers by the eight hours' day law; the class solidarity and the universal holiday; and of demonstrating the unity of the working-class movement in all countries.

"Whereas the unity of the demonstration only exists in some countries, and in others not the First of May, but the first Sunday in the month, is celebrated.

"The Amsterdam Congress reaffirms the resolutions adopted at the International Socialist Congresses held in Paris in 1889, in Brussels 1891, in Zurich 1893, and Paris in 1900, and invites all the Socialist parties and trade unions of all countries to organize energetically the working-class demonstrations of the First of May, in order to demand the institu-

tion of the legal eight hours' day, and to maintain the interests of the working-class and the cause of universal peace.

"But this demonstration can be most effective only by the suspension of work on the First of May.

"The Congress, therefore, urges it upon all proletarian organizations as a duty, to strive to secure the complete stoppage of work on May First wherever that can be done without injury to working-class interests."

TRUSTS.

"The Trusts have their complete development, even in competition, in the world of production.

"They grow gradually into gigantic associations, organized nationally, or even internationally, and which reduce many industries to a complete monopoly.

"The Trusts are an inevitable consequence of competition, and they represent a system of production based on low wages.

"In these conditions the associations of capitalists of all countries and of all industries form powers composed on the basis of their common interests. Also the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class becomes more and more accentuated. Production is regulated, diminishing waste, and assuring the efficiency of labor, but all the benefit is for the capitalists while the exploitation of the workers is intensified.

"Considering these facts, and in view of the experiences which show the futility of legislation against Trusts.

"The Congress of Amsterdam, affirming the conclusions of the Congress of Paris, declares:

"1. That the Socialist Party of all countries should abstain from any attempt whatever to prevent the formation of trusts, or to restrain their development.

"2. The efforts of the Socialist Party should be in the direction of the socialization of production, having for object the general well-being and the elimination of profits.

"The method of establishing the socialization, and the order in which it will be effected will be determined by our power of action and by the nature of the industries trustified.

"In opposition to these organizations, which menace the economy organization of the workers by the consolidation of the capitalist forces the workers of the whole world must oppose a force organized nationally and internationally, as the single arm against capitalist oppression and the only means of bringing to an end the *regime* of capitalist society by establishing Socialism."

Theodore Roosevelt and His Essays.

IT is peculiarly unusual in America for a man in public life to indulge to any extent in literary expression. It is very far from the common to find even a professedly literary man who honestly, without ideas of reserve, pours out all of his thought upon every question of work, play, morals, economics, ethics, politics.

This is what Mr. Roosevelt has done in his essays. Not one nature in a thousand is capable of the all round vitality, briskness and dogmaticism which makes possible the variety and conciseness of Roosevelt's work. It is particularly edifying to have as evidences for and against the most prominent man in the United States far more definite than a third person could dare or hope to construct.

In examining the work of a man who lives so close to his words, it is just to allow for written and spoken utterances something of the same latitude we would use in judging the character of an acquaintance. It is manifestly unjust to pay attention to chance sentences and phrases in the case of a man who has endeavored to lay his whole heart and soul, his whole self, before his reader. It is upon this account that the entire number of Roosevelt's essays have been chosen as the subject of this paper, and it is on the same account that references for support of any contentions herein raised must be referred to the life of the man himself and to the entire number of his essays.

It is typical of a period of change, even more than of other periods, that private, public, economic, social, literary and business questions must be discussed with very close regard for one another. Perhaps at no time has it been so necessary to relate these various manifestations of the dynamic forces remolding the very detail of our national structure. Some general view point or adherence to some ideal becomes imperative. Roosevelt is an idealist. Indeed perusal of his works discloses the influence of two sets of ideals somewhat difficult to reconcile. By birth and early training he is a member of our almost completely evolved leisure class. Through imagination and books and some small experience he is strongly influenced by what we may call the spirit of the American frontier. By "frontier" is meant not alone the existing frontier, but also the frontiers of earlier date whose ideals still so strongly influence our national life. Roosevelt's honestly professed ideal is the frontier ideal. The influence of birth, life and training pervades his whole attitude and is a hindrance to any deep insight into material conditions. It is on this account that the whole of the essays are virtually directed to the leisure or upper class as advices to them as to the best meth-

ods of justifying and perpetuating the class. Roosevelt, the man living true to his sentiments, is the ideal the books portray. The struggle to adjust his personal philosophy to varying stages of development brings these two ideals into clear relief. In the agricultural west he is democratic, in the city his position closely follows that of the less democratic European members of the leisure class.

Roosevelt's methods deserve more than casual mention. The wonderful vitality and directness of the man serves all that he stands for in good stead. But his weakness lies here close to his strength. So strenuous is his attack, so cocksure must he be of results, so directly before him must his objective be, that evils which there is stupendous difficulty in meeting are neglected altogether. Indeed, Roosevelt's disposition will not permit him to attend, or even admit evils that cannot be surmounted by mere weight of character. Roosevelt's methods may be likened to those of the knights of old, who were eager to overcome evils by vigil or by the lance, but who failed to see the relation of the feudal system to the helpless maid and the dispoiled serf.

Roosevelt's historical and political conceptions are vigorous and manifold, but here again his divorcement from material conditions limits his horizon. History to Roosevelt is a story of battles and picturesque characters. Politics is a matter purely of national character, a thing apart from or only casually influenced by material changes, clash of classes and conflicting interests. The whole scheme for Roosevelt is a battle between righteousness and unrighteousness, with righteousness always on his side. Roosevelt's political conceptions resemble closely those of the young Englishman of the ruling class who enters politics as a social privilege and holds his whole function served if the game is played fairly according to the old rules: who speaks of industrial changes, but is too far from the pinch to be capable of even approximately understanding their import. In his historical and political papers, Roosevelt thoroughly discusses the machine, but it is the political machine. To this subject a whole chapter is allotted. Surface manifestations are examined and attacked. But he pays little or no regard to those vast impersonal forces that work with infinitely greater potency than the power of any ideal which does not accord with the actual material environment. Politics become disreputable, &c. A fair illustration of Roosevelt's attitude toward history and politics may be found in that very characteristic essay, "Fellow Feeling as a Political Factor." In summing up the causes of decay of all those civilizations which at various times have waxed mighty, Roosevelt, in order to support his thesis that there never should be any form of class conflict, ascribes this decadence to the existence of his *bete noir*, the class conscious mind. It is the fact that the classes were "unrighteous" enough to struggle, which accord-

ing to Roosevelt produced the decline and decay of freedom and progress. That classes exist with conflicting interests is comparatively an unimportant matter. Roosevelt's idealistic and sentimental point of approach, together with that element in his character which compels him to slight and ignore what his mere desire and personal prowess cannot overcome, has held him blind to the significance of history.

Civilizations have generally declined after class struggle, but they have declined because of the existence of classes with large and growing conflict of interests and through the capture of control by a small class with the subsequent divorcement of the great majority from any real first hand interest in the governing institutions.

The existence of classes and the actual conflict of these interests is a situation too big and complex for mere personal virtue to solve. But Roosevelt is virile, and he belongs to the class where all have money or authority, and the power of each is therefore multiplied as by leverage. Individuality is fostered and emphasized, and appears superficially to be the dominant factor in events trained therefore to a personal point of view and naturally aggressive, Roosevelt cannot face and accept the impersonalness of industrial conditions.

The fact that class training, even where classes have not evolved into castes, is the strongest single educational influence, is ignored.

Politics become disreputable, according to Roosevelt, because men are not sufficiently broadminded and good. To his companions he advises an artificial stimulous in the hope that thereby the habit of taking interest in matters political may be formed, or that they may at least become devotees of the game for the game's sake. He says play the game and it will grow interesting to you.

And it is in this point of approach that Roosevelt reveals the effect of training and exemption from the ordinary experiences of his fellows.

Roosevelt is much more a personal moralist than a social philosopher. The panacea that he would offer would be his own personality multiplied by the number of inhabitants of the United States and its dependencies. Material inequality as a field for "Strenuosity" he would perhaps retain. Be good, be patriotic, but above all refuse to recognize any other classification, any other force than the personal and the national, these are his admonitions. Of course, despite himself, Roosevelt is compelled to recognize industrial and social problems, but it always seems to be with regret and with a desire to explain away their significance. Conflicting interests he cannot and will not see. His point of approach, as that of one free from material environment, together with the grafted ideal of communities in which inequalities are only inequalities of worth, both guide him astray. Under-

lying movements of national life, great industrial changes, vast discontent are mentioned, but to examine into them closely is treason to his thesis. On the other hand, Roosevelt is well versed in knowledge of national and international needs. The importance of a navy, the improvement of consular and civil service, the building and control of great canals, and the necessity for the intervention of a strong right arm are recognized as a logical and imperious cry of business growth and life. In spite of criticisms to the contrary, it is as an essential to the maintenance of our present civilization that Roosevelt demands military expansion, although of course his training in "sport" and his natural predilections may in large measure be responsible for his stand. It is (this) international competition that Roosevelt appreciates. But in speaking of wage-competition, it is the ability to exclude Chinese and slave labor that furnishes for Roosevelt the solution of the problem.

Some of this easy dismissal of vital social matters is observed in his treatment of any movement of discontent. "Unrighteous" dismisses the affair.

Roosevelt is a most salutary influence in attacking the false sentimentality of the over civilized man, as he calls him, the man who is irked by the necessity for struggle, be it physical or mental. War as a demand of present national needs he properly recognizes. The advantages of vigorous and intelligent competition to a strong and growing power, he emphasizes.

He speaks more nearly what he thinks than any man we have known in public life this long while. But most of all, Roosevelt clarifies issues. He insists upon "decent" public service and general honesty in politics should have a wonderful influence in clarifying issues. At the same time, himself a theorist, his foreign policy must assist in bringing about those stages in our industrial development which will enable us to judge of results from other standpoints than those of mere theory. Mr. Roosevelt's recognition of the supreme importance of the west makes an additional salutary influence.

The appearance of a man like Roosevelt upon the scene is most significant. For the first time within living memory we have as president a man who has risen into great prominence without serving a long and fairly regular apprenticeship in some trade or profession. Indeed it is a strain upon the memory to recall any perceptible number of men in politics who have not served in trade, business or some profession closely allied to business. The demand of the times for a man who can represent the only conscious and coherent voice of the nation—the cry for expansion, industrial and territorial, rather than for social readjustment, demands the appearance at the helm of a man in sympathy with the trend toward concentration. As the proper sympathy and understanding of this spirit would exist in purest form among

the commercial classes it would be expected that leaders would appear from these classes. Perhaps a logical choice would be that of a man thoroughly trained in the management of large industrial enterprises. Such a man's sympathy with present tendencies would be assured while his training would amply fit him to grapple with the problems of commercial growth. The other choice would be that of a man coming from a division whose existing class is largely related with the commercial but who could appeal at the same time to the vaguer, less organized ideals of the nation. From the commercial or from the leisure classes, these choices must come. Hanna and Roosevelt present typical illustrations. There is no other class or set of class interests sufficiently definite or articulate to hope in their present form to gain the supremacy. Indeed, there is no other set of aspirations sufficiently intelligent and at the same time powerful to enter the competition. Roosevelt is undoubtedly the best type that the compromise of clashing interests could produce. His training and raising in an environment so closely dependent upon sanction of existing conditions fit him to understand and appreciate that there is at present but one set of ideals sufficiently comprehensive and intelligent to meet the situation. At the same time his separation from first hand influences and his idealism permit him a more generous latitude than could be expected from a man of the other stamp.

Roosevelt draws his support from three main streams. First, he has the support of what we may call the business element assured to him by his wise appreciation of honesty and of international policies, as well as by his ability as a vote getter. The vigor, versatility and romantic life of the man draws a large sentimental following. But the peculiar element of his strength Mr. Roosevelt derives from what we may call the traditional ideal. Through the United States, even in the less developed portions of some of the eastern states, we find a society not differing essentially from that of the early frontier. Especially we find the ideals of such communities lagging as we should expect them, far behind the disappearance of their material basis. These rather narrow, rough, democratic ideals, while unorganized and incoherent, make one of the main *motifs* of American life. Roosevelt through his adoption of this ideal achieves by his refusal to recognize changes something of the limited horizon of these communities, whose small experience forbids them to see broadly. The recollection of vast tracts of fertile land waiting the asking, the remembrance of a country far more homogenous, the inherited tradition of a narrowly fierce democracy are still fresh. Roosevelt's personal habits, his adoption of this ideal as typically American enables him to draw strength from this numerous element. Territorial and commercial expansion appeals as a substitute for new land. The unrest in response to demands for readjustment sees much hope in the vigor of the young leader who preaches its own aspirations and who promises continuance of what is disappearing.

The writer is far from holding the opinion that this is the best type of leader we may hope for after the working class gains consciousness of its own interests and its own ideals. What is urged is that with but one set of ideals clearly postulated and understood by any considerable number of voters we cannot intelligently expect a broader or deeper sympathy with social strength.
W.

The Work That All Can Do.

The best work and the most important work in the Socialist movement is a kind of work that all can do. No matter what the things a comrade may be unable to do, each and every one of us can **DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE.**

And that is the most important thing in our movement. Every Socialist in the United States should distribute a book, a pamphlet, or a few leaflets and papers every single day between this day and election day. The people are this year more ready to read our literature than ever before. It will be a crime of omission on the part of our comrades if all those outside the Socialist movement are not supplied with means of enlightenment.

Let each comrade see that his nearest neighbor has some Socialist pamphlet, paper or leaflet. See that all the people in your tenement, all the people in your block, all the people in your city, all the people in your township, have something to read on the subject of Socialism between to-day and election day.

If you work in a factory, see that every person in that factory has a Socialist leaflet at least once each week between this and the 8th of November. If you belong to a trade union, see that every member has some socialist literature before election day. See to it that at every meeting of your union every man is given a Socialist paper or leaflet.

Do not leave this work for some one else to do, **DO IT YOURSELF. DO IT NOW.**

Put your faith in print. Distribute Socialist literature, and you will get Socialist results. Distribute Socialist literature, and we shall have Socialism in our time.

BEN HANFORD.

The Paramount Issue.

IT is not true that there are no issues in this campaign. On one subject and one only are the two parties disagreed—the full dinner pail. The republicans tell the workingmen they have been prosperous and should leave good enough alone. The democrats preach the gospel of discontent and since they offer the only alternative to republican rule let it go at that. Why have we settled down to such crude politics? Capital and labor are in conflict everywhere. Other countries, less democratic and almost as developed in industry, do not have a single issue—"hungry or satisfied."

The truth is that while our people have been busy with their own affairs the politicians have industriously elaborated for this country the most inflexible, the most intricate political system the world has ever known. Our own government as all others has been perverted—sold out to private interests and to a class. But that is not all. Not only has the government been used by a class—but from top to bottom our whole system and form of government has been constructed and shaped for the purpose of a class. The full dinner-pail is the climax of a century of unintermittent political degeneration. It will be with us as long as our present form of government persists.

We are fortunate to have one issue. This much we are assured. The opposition party always finds itself forced to educate the people to at least one stirring political issue. It is not necessary sincerely to support any proposed reform, but it is essential to point out some widespread source of discontent, to attribute it to the party in power and to promise some change. Afterwards, to quote Kipling's line, "there can be found a thousand reasons for failure if not a single excuse." But some real abuse must be pointed out, the responsibility for the abuse must be placed on the party in power, promises must be given to put things to rights and votes obtained. This much at least our present system of government, dominated by political machines and manipulated by the corporations and business interests, does assure us—at least one vital issue for each campaign. This is the final irreducible minimum of self-government.

The issue must be vital. As the knowledge of the people of the corruption of the parties becomes more widespread, less is hoped for from them. Every campaign it is necessary to agitate deeper and deeper questions in order to convince the voter that there is any use in making a political change. The free silver movement for instance, was at the bottom a spontaneous and genuine movement of agrarian discontent. However demagogic

and insincere the position of the democratic party itself, the actual conditions of the farming community were brought to public attention as never before. In the farming sections the discussions centered on matters of vital concern to farmers—the prices obtained for crops, the control of the farmer by his creditors, etc. There was, to be sure, little or no sincere talk on the conditions of the working people. But for one-third of the community at least, the farmers, the Bryan campaign of 1896 was a campaign of political enlightenment. It was in the next campaign that the republicans brought out the full dinner pail which approaches as near to the fundamental discussion of the labor problem as the two party system is capable of, and has now, for the second time, been made the sole real issue among workingmen.

As the main issues have become more vital, all secondary issues have been laid aside. The parties have found it necessary to work up the voters into a greater and greater pitch of excitement and to deal with realities. But at the same time they have gained the infinite advantage over the people of shoving all other issues away no matter what their importance. So, the main issue in the agricultural sections in 1896 became prosperity. Do we have it or do we not? In 1900 this also became the one real issue in the large cities. The arguments of the republican campaign text-book this year can nearly all be traced down to this single position—first, all the classes in the country are prosperous; second, republican policies have brought about this prosperity. The democratic campaign on the other hand is based on the denial of both of these statements. The whole of the democratic tactics is this: literature is to be spread among all classes calling attention to the lack of prosperity for certain classes during the whole republican administration and to the recent depression in all industries. The republican's policies are to be blamed for all these mischances. But practically no new measures are to be proposed. It is simply assumed that the republicans are wrong and the democrats supposed antitheses are right. The one fundamental change the democrats propose in the present political situation is a democratic in place of a republican administration. All other issues have permanently disappeared.

The greatest experiment in democracy the world has ever known has simply come to this: that the political machines select every public servant and decide every public question except one—has the government in power on the whole brought more prosperity than the opposition party is likely to bring? Has your dinner pail been full? The amount of intelligence and character needed by the voter to decide this question is hardly above that of the savage. But all other questions have been taken away from him by those more "fit to govern."

Now, if we could show that neither of the parties have brought prosperity to the working people, their last and only plea for the support of the working people falls to the ground. Especially is this so if we can show that during the recent two administrations, a period in which on the whole, this country has had greater prosperity than any country of the world has ever witnessed before, the working people have actually received less real wages for their work than ever before. To do this no elaborate statistical investigations or calculations are needed. Two recent bulletins of the Department of Labor, those of March and July this year, will suffice.

The majority of the working people have not shared in prosperity. The figures of the Department of Labor and of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that the real wages of the employes of the railways and of the fifteen of the twenty-nine leading industries had fallen from 1897 to 1903. Accepting as accurate the Bureau's figures of the increased cost of living for this period at 14.5, tables I and II indicate the extent of this fall and the total number of persons employed in the railways and fifteen industries. Since last year the wages have been reduced in a large majority of industries. This would probably bring the level of real wages of nearly all the industries mentioned in table III also below the estimated increase in the cost of living, the increase from 1897 to this year 1904, as estimated by the United States Department of Labor, being 15.5 per cent.

But it is not necessary to accept the figures of the republican Department of Labor as accurate as far as the cost of living is concerned. There are two evident errors in these figures. First, it is estimated that increase in the cost of living has been the same as the cost of food. The Department obtained accurate figures as to the increased cost of food for several thousand working class families but it did not investigate the rise in the price of clothing or what is equivalent, the corresponding deterioration in quality or the increase in rents, fuel, light and other household expenses. According to the report of the Bulletin of Labor for March mentioned above, the rise of wholesale prices of those commodities which the workingman purchases when weighed according to the workingman's budgets, furnished by the Department itself, was 22 per cent from 1897 to 1903. But the Department assumes that retail prices do not rise as rapidly as wholesale prices. That in the long run the reverse is the case, cannot be doubted from the figures of the increased cost of living which were obtained by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor and the investigations of the Anthracite Strike Commission. This is the second error of the Department of Labor, the first being the proposition that the other articles rise in price to about the same extent only as food. The third error arises from the fact that the workingmen's budgets

examined were not those of typical workingmen. The majority of workingmen as shown by the Census investigations, do not receive as much as \$600 a year. The budgets examined by the Department of Labor ranged even above \$1,200. The majority of the families examined were those of skilled workers whereas at least two-thirds of the working people in the country are unskilled. Now, the budgets, or the distribution of the income between various purchases, of unskilled labor are very different from those of skilled labor. The latter buy a great many more articles the price of which is more or less fixed, whereas the principal expenses of the former are in those very simple necessities, the prices of which vary most widely, such as meat, flour, paper, coal, clothing, shoes, rent, etc. It is therefore entirely justifiable to make a new calculation of the increased cost of living based on the wholesale prices.

Taking as a basis the relative wholesale prices of commodities from the Bulletin 51, Department of Labor, page 248, we have the following table:

Table III.

RELATIVE PRICES OF COMMODITIES.

(Department of Labor, Bulletin 51, Page 248.)

	1897	1903	Per Cent Increase.
Food, etc.	87.7	107.1	22
Clothing	91.1	106.6	17
Fuel and lighting.....	96.4	149.3	55

The budgets of working class families which have an income of from \$400 to \$800 a year are distributed according to reports of the Department of Labor approximately as follows:

Meat	15 per cent.
Dairy and garden products.....	15 per cent.
Breadstuffs	6 per cent.
Other food, liquor, etc.....	14 per cent.
Clothing	15 per cent.
Rent	15 per cent.
Fuel	5 per cent.
Miscellaneous	15 per cent.

If then we take every \$100 of the workingman to have been expended according to the above proportions in July, 1897, we have the following table showing what his expenditures would have been in July, 1903. Rent is estimated to have risen 20 per cent and miscellaneous expenses to have increased at the same ratio as all the other commodities. By this method only 15 per cent of the commodities, that is to say, miscellaneous expenses are estimated to have increased according to the general average increase, whereas by the method of the Department of Labor, 55 per cent is reckoned in this loose manner. According to this

table, the workingman expended in 1903 \$122.72 for every \$100 he expended in 1897.

The Cost of Living—1897—1903.

(From U. S. Department of Labor figures, excluding rent.)

Date—	Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fuel.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
July, 1897	50	15	15	5	15	100
July, 1903	61	17.55	18	7.75	18.42	122.72

Returning now to table IV. we find that according to the above calculation of the increased cost of living, all the industries mentioned in the table would show an actual fall in real wages except cotton goods with a rise of .1 and glass with a rise of .4. Now let us bring into the estimates the fall in wages since last year—which have not been accompanied by a decrease in the cost of living. The glass industry and the cotton industry which showed a very slight increase have both had during the last year decreases of wages ranging from 10 to 20 per cent and would therefore show a fall in real wages since 1897 even accepting the figures of the Department of Labor on the cost of living. The case is similar with the slaughtering and meat packing industry, the paper industry, the woolen industry, the bakeries, agricultural implements, and according to the associated press dispatches it is probably also true of the other industries mentioned in this table, none of which showed but a very slight excess last year over the increased cost of living.

There are now left for our consideration the two important industries mentioned in table V, the iron and steel and the building trades. The iron and steel industry can be quickly disposed of. Wage scales in nearly every department have fallen from 10 to 20 per cent in the last year. This would bring the real wages of the majority, though not those of all the employes, to a point below that of 1897. More important are the building trades. The decreases in the wages of many classes in the building trades have been noted all over the country this year but they have been slight and have not applied to all the trades. We may concede that the present wages in the building trades have increased from 5 to 10 per cent more rapidly than the cost of living. But there is no clearer case than the building trades of an increase of wages through the efforts of the unions. This increase cannot be said to be due to any political causes. These unions are resisting the tendency for lower wages all over the country at the present moment. They are usually the first to begin to fight for better conditions and the last to give up to the organized efforts of the employers to lower wages. While other unions have surrendered, the building trades are still maintaining their fight, but it is a losing fight, and even before this article goes to press, it is probable that wages in these trades will be on the downward trend.

During a period in which the "prosperity party" has had control over the presidency, congress and the legislatures of nearly all the leading states, during a period in which the wealth of the country has increased nearly 50 per cent according to the best estimates, the wages of all the most important classes of labor have risen less rapidly than the cost of living. Aside from the increased amount of unemployment, the working people have not shared in the fruits of prosperity; and even steady employment is now making a way for a vast amount of idleness in all the leading industries. The sole issue on which the party in power can appeal for the votes of the working people has now fallen. The democratic party has already been convicted. The conditions when it was last in power were considerably worse than those at the present moment.

The lesson to the labor movement is to accept the challenge of both the great political parties and to stick to the paramount issue they have themselves chosen, prosperity. Neither the democratic or the republican parties have brought prosperity to the working people and therefore neither of these parties offers the working people any hope.

Wages of Railway Employes from July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1903.

(The Bureau of Labor estimates the increase in the cost of living during this period at about 14.5).

Class of Employes—	Year 1897	Year 1903	In- crease	Per Cent.
General Officer Clerks.....	\$2.18	\$2.21	\$.03	1
Station Agents	1.73	1.87	.16	9
Other Station Men.....	1.62	1.64	.02	1
Enginemen	3.65	4.01	.36	10
Firemen	2.05	2.28	.23	11
Conductors	3.07	3.38	.31	10
Other Trainmen	1.90	2.17	.27	14
Machinists	2.23	2.50	.27	12
Carpenters	2.01	2.19	.18	9
Other Shopmen	1.71	1.86	.15	9
Section Foremen	1.70	1.78	.08	5
Other Trackmen	1.16	1.31	.15	13
Switch tenders, crossing tenders and watchmen.	1.72	1.76	.04	2
Telegraph Employees and Dispatchers.....	1.90	2.08	.18	9
Employees—Account Floating Equipment.....	1.86	2.11	.25	13
All Other Employees and Laborers.....	1.64	1.77	.13	8
1,312,537 employes.				

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE DECREASED.

(See Bulletin of Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Cars, Steam Railroad.....	+13.5	173,595
Flour	+11.1	37,073
Foundry and Machine Shop.....	+12.4	350,327
Potteries	+ 7.8	43,714
Carpets	+ 9.3	28,411

Carriages and Wagons.....	+ 7.4	62,540
Clothing, Factory Product.....	+ 4.0	274,782
Fruits and Vegetables, Canning and Pre- serving	+10.4	36,401
Leather	+ 7.9	52,109
Shipbuilding	+ 6.1	46,781
Silk Goods	+ 5.5	65,416
Tobacco, Cigars and Cigarettes.....	+ 6.0	103,462
Streets and Sewers, Contract Work....	+13.4	34,090
Boots and Shoes.....	+12.8	142,922
Printing and Publishing, Newspaper....	+14.1	162,992
Total		1,614,685

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE REMAINED PRACTICALLY STATIONARY.

(See Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Agricultural implements	+17.9	46,582
Brick	+15.2	61,979
Printing and publishing, book and job..	+17.0	162,992
Furniture	+18.0	100,018
Glass	+22.1	52,818
Bakery, bread	+19.2	60,271
Cotton goods	+21.8	302,861
Liquors, malt	+19.0	39,532
Lumber	+16.3	283,179
Paper and wood pulp.....	+18.9	49,646
Slaughtering and meat packing.....	+15.9	69,441
Woolen and worsted goods.....	+15.0	125,901
Total		1,355,220

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE INCREASED.

(See Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Building trades	+24.8	1,500,000 est.
Iron and Steel.....		222,490
Blast furnace	+22.5	
Muck bar	+32.2	
Open hearth steel.....	+33.8	
Bar iron	+39.3	
Blooming mill	+42.9	
Bessemer converting	+42.5	
Rails	+53.4	
Total		1,522,490

"INVESTIGATOR."

EDITORIAL

Apathy in the Present Election.

The capitalist press is assuring us that nobody is taking any interest in the present electoral contest. The professional political worker is complaining of a fall in the price of his goods. The great newspapers are all explaining that everybody has already decided how they are going to vote.

Superficially this appears to be true. Four or eight years ago the hotel lobbies, and railroad trains were filled with little groups of men fiercely discussing the "issues" of the day. At the present time political discussions are as scarce as differences between the republican and democratic party.

This statement, however, that "nobody" is interested in politics this year bears a distinct resemblance to the favorite phrase of the society reporter. "Nobody is left in town" he sagely informs us each spring. "Everybody" has gone to the mountains or the seashore, is the reverse side of the same thing. If we look a little closer into the present political situation we shall see that it is the same "everybody" who is affected with this chill apathy and the same "nobody" who is at present interested in politics. The hotel lobbies, the suburban trains, the bank corridors and the Board of Trade have few political discussions these days. On the other hand, the trade union hall, the shop, the mill, the factory and the mine are filled with such discussions as never before. There is nothing for the class, who arrogate to themselves the title of "society," because of their political rulership at the present time and consider themselves the social body, to quarrel about. They consider that the entire affair was settled when they captured the two political parties and made them as like one another as two peas in a pod. The republican Dromio may caper in front of his democratic twin and occasionally make faces at him, but everybody knows that their blood relationship will prevent any real hostilities.

That portion of the working class which gets its manners from the society columns and its brains from the editorial department of the capitalist press may still remain apathetic, but there are hundreds of thousands among the laborers who are beginning to realize that the class which produces the wealth of the world, which constitutes the only indispensable portion of the industrial fabric, may, after all, be some portion of "so-

ciety." They are beginning to have a mind and consciousness of their own. So it is that the very apathy of their masters arouses in them the necessity of class antagonism. Socialist speakers are not complaining of any apathy. The report which comes from every direction is that never before was there the close rapt attention to socialist speakers, never before was there such eagerness for socialist literature, never before such willingness to accept the socialist philosophy. So it is that, just as we are beginning to realize that when a society reporter says that "nobody is left in town," we know that in reality there is only about 95 per cent of the population still stifling at their daily toil, just as we are beginning to realize that it is only the idle, useless superfluous portion of society that is meant when we read "society news;" just so in the political field when we hear that there is a dull apathy as to politics, we find that this only applies to a very small portion and that the most useless portion of the social structure.

The reports which were sent in response to our request for information concerning the socialist activity contains much valuable matter impossible to include in the article which appears in this number. There were so many valuable suggestions as to organization, methods of work, etc., that we have decided to prepare for our next issue an article on "Party Organization." We believe that nothing could be more timely than such an article. The one great problem which will confront us immediately after election will be the organization of the forces which have been conjured up by the campaign excitement.

As has been stated several times in socialist periodicals the John Crerar Library, of Chicago, is making a special effort to collect material bearing on the socialist movement in America. We would urge that all state and local organizations publishing any literature whatever send two copies of all documents issued to that library. Platforms and election manifestos are especially desired. Such matter will be carefully filed away and preserved and it will be of great value to the socialist movement of America to have a place where such material may be secured. Address John Crerar Library, Chicago, Ill.

The "Letters from a Pork Packer's Stenographer," crowded out this month, will appear in succeeding number.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

As the time approaches to hold the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the usual rumors are afloat that important changes are to be made in the executive council of that body. Conferences are said to have been held in Chicago, New York, Washington and various other places to arrange certain details in the matter of deposing certain officials and filling their positions. Of course, President Samuel Gompers is slated for decapitation and Secretary Morrison is to go. Fifth Vice-President Thomas J. Kidd and Eighth Vice-President W. J. Spencer are also to be opposed and dumped if possible, and Fourth Vice-President Max Morris, it is claimed, will find a strong candidate in the field against him. For several years there has been talk of changing the complexion of the official family of the A. F. of L. First Vice-President James Duncan has always been mentioned in these conferences as Gompers' successor. At New Orleans, two years ago, Duncan was put forward for the presidency and had the proposition under consideration for several days, but finally declined to accept the honor—although it was pretty certain that he could have been elected by a safe majority—giving a number of important reasons for his decision. At the Boston convention last year Duncan was again groomed for the presidency, but his election was by no means as sure as at the preceding convention, owing to the fact that Gompers' friends and organizers came to town in droves for the double purpose of "plugging" for their chief and to smash socialism so that the capitalists would withdraw "the sting of antagonism." Anyhow, Duncan flunked again about three minutes before the nominations were made. And so the annual confabs are taking place again among certain delegates (and they are not the "wicked" socialists, either), looking to Gompers' undoing and Duncan's promotion.

If Gompers is deposed Morrison will go with him and some such man as William Ryan, secretary of the Illinois miners, will step into Federation secretaryship. Thomas I. Kidd, of the woodworkers, has been opposed by the carpenters in the last two conventions owing to the jurisdiction fight between the two organizations. Kidd has lately tendered his resignation as secretary of the woodworkers, and unless he changes his mind will withdraw from active work in the labor movement. Naturally the carpenters will claim his seat in the council. Spencer attempted to overthrow President Merrick at the recent plumbers' convention, lost his position as general organizer for his pains, and will quite likely be again opposed by Sherman, of the electrical workers, now that the former's prestige has been weakened. Morris has long been regarded as incapable of representing the extreme west and has only held on because no candidate appeared against him. Then he is also pretty well mixed up in politics and draws more or less criticism upon the executive council.

The Chicago slate-makers, I am informed, have decided that Gompers and all his friends will have to walk the plank. This sweeping change, if successful, would no doubt include the national organizers, or a good

part of them, who are a machine in themselves. It is surprising how indifferent the affiliated national unions and their memberships are regarding this small army of organizers, who draw \$200 to \$300 a month for doing nothing that could not be done better by local volunteers who are paid their actual expenses only. The present system is becoming scandalous and will cause a great deal of talk if continued.

I have received a somewhat similar story by way of Washington differing only in the claim that the main points of the reconstruction have been arranged harmoniously by Gompers and Duncan and their friends. The Washington report is said to be absolutely authentic. It is in effect that Gompers is to make way for Duncan as his successor, and that the former is to be given a federal appointment, along about the new year, as a "recognition of labor," provided Roosevelt is re-elected. The position will probably be the labor commissionership now held by Carroll D. Wright, and for which office John Mitchell, of the miners, and Chief Clark, of the railway conductors, have been favorably mentioned in political circles. Mitchell, however, as the story goes, will stand for re-election at the miners' convention in January, as a sort of vindication of his acts in favoring a wage reduction last spring. Thereafter he will resign, if triumphant to take a position that will be created for him in the National Civic Federation. It might be mentioned here that organized labor of the country is almost a unit in advocating the promotion of William S. Waudby to Carroll D. Wright's place. Mr. Waudby was largely instrumental in having the labor department created by Congress and has been a special agent therein since its inception. It is admitted at the White House that no man ever had such general and spontaneous support for a position, in the shape of resolutions from organizations, petitions, individual recommendations, etc., as Mr. Waudby. Yet Roosevelt has given no sign that Waudby, who is a pioneer in the Typographical Union, will be advanced. Indeed, it is claimed that some of the Federation officials held a conference with Roosevelt last spring, opposed Waudby's promotion, urged Gompers for Wright's position, and arranged to assist Roosevelt in the present campaign. It is somewhat significant that while in Colorado Mitchell repeated over and over again his friendship for Roosevelt, despite the fact that he is largely responsible for the present widespread open-shop agitation, and it is equally strange that none of the other members of the executive council aim the slightest criticism at the president for the hostile attitude that he assumed toward organized labor. In fact, in the September number of the Federationist President Gompers quotes alleged questions put to him as to why he does not support Roosevelt, and Samuel, not only does not attack Teddy's labor record, but dodges the issue by coyly announcing that "I am a trade unionist." This supposed dialogue was so cleverly meaningless that it had to be preserved for the admiration of future generations in the Federationist. In the game of politics an enemy is really supported by the passiveness of those who could administer some hard knocks if they would.

In the course of the coming year or two no doubt quite a good many leaders, so-called, will stand out from under. There is a crisis confronting organized labor and many more severe struggles will have to be faced, and the average man is so constituted that he dislikes to be directly identified with the side that stands the greatest chances of losing, especially where he cares little for his class interests and is solely enrapt with his own importance and what the world calls success. Some of the strikes of the past season are signs of what the future has in store. The struggle of the butchers, in which they were at least temporarily defeated in the attempt to check the conquering march of capitalism in its campaign of wage reductions, which, unfortunately, the miners, longshoremen and other better situated organizations did not resist, will be followed by other

contests between the two hostile forces. No matter whether these stories that Gompers is going to get into Roosevelt's bandwagon, that Mitchell will withdraw from activity in the miners, that Kidd is leaving the wood-workers and other changes are made in the personnel of officials are true or not, the fact remains that the struggle will continue just the same—the irrepressible conflict will rage notwithstanding the foolish attempts of some of our "leaders" to deny its existence.

In the latter part of September a prominent manufacturer (who is thoroughly in sympathy with the unions and socialism as well, but for obvious reasons cannot proclaim that fact from the housetops at this time) told me that the iron and steel barons had decided that the old Amalgamated Association must be destroyed or at least be made helpless. He also claimed to have it from the mouths of Pittsburgh and New York capitalists that some of the railway brotherhoods are to be "squeezed until they are brought to their senses," and that when the present truce between the anthracite miners and operators expires next year the latter will make another effort to run their business to suit themselves. A leading vessel owner is authority for the statement that next season the long-shoremen, seamen and kindred organizations will be forced to yield open shop conditions on the great lakes; the foundry proprietors refuse to enter into another national agreement with the iron molders and friction between their organizations is increasing; the machinists are tied up in several big strikes; the printers are to be resisted when they attempt to enforce the eight-hour day in job offices next year, and threats of a running fight all over the country in the building next season are frequently heard.

The industrial outlook is anything but satisfactory. Nearly every trade has trouble at present, and what with the open shop craze that prevails and the mania to reduce wages, "the sting of antagonism" (which Gompers said had been withdrawn by the capitalists because he and his crowd at Boston proved to the master class that the unions were hostile to socialism) will be jabbed into labor more sharply than ever. It is quite generally understood that if this were not presidential year a good many more strikes and lockouts would have been precipitated, but some of the shrewd capitalists prefer to wait until the workingmen have again fought each other at the polls in November, and are perhaps weakened somewhat after the coming hard winter, before piling in indiscriminately in the union-smashing campaign. They argue that the toilers will have unsteady work the coming winter and with prices of necessities remaining at maximum figures the men will be in no position to resist for any length of time.

It must be admitted that the advantage is with the organized employers. They are in control of the industries and can close or operate their establishments to please themselves. They are likewise in control of the government, in nation, state and municipality, and can use its powers to aid in their conspiracies. The only thing left for the workers to do is to cling to their unions all the more tenaciously, point out to the unorganized the conditions that exist and the dangers that are looming up ahead, make every effort to increase their memberships and prepare for the worst, and last, but by no means least, serve notice on the unbridled plutocracy what it may expect by striking a blow at the ballot-box next month—by voting for Debs and Hanford and the straight ticket of the socialist party.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Italy.

It is impossible as yet to secure any definite information from the socialist side concerning the general strike and riots which have been taking place in Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan and other Italian cities during September. It is known that the socialists have declared such a strike as a protest against the military outrages of the government. But immediately that the strike began the Italian government ordered a close press censorship which has prohibited any information reaching the outside world. By our next number, however, we shall have received publications from the seat of trouble and shall be able to give full particulars.

Germany.

All interest here settles around the National Convention which has just been held at Bremen. Here again complete details are not available, but the principal points under discussion were the municipal programme, the alteration of the internal organization of the party and Bernstein's proposition for the revision of the programme itself. Nothing was done on Bernstein's proposition and on the whole the meeting passed off without any sharp antagonisms. It was arranged to make the organization more centralized and to limit its membership to those whose socialism was assured.

In an early number we shall give a complete translation of the municipal programme and so much of the discussion as will be valuable to the American movement.

The anniversary of Lassalle's death, August 31, 1864, was celebrated quite largely throughout Germany and nearly all the papers published extensive articles reviewing his work.

France.

From a letter of Comrade Lee, of the *New York Worker*, who is now in Paris, we learn that the Guesdists have taken steps looking toward the unity of all socialist parties in France in accordance with the Amsterdam resolution. Jaures, on the other hand, who made his political debut on the unity issue among socialists, has nothing to say.

Russia.

Carl Joubert has an article in the *Nineteenth Century* of London in which he discusses the revolutionary forces of Russia and shows how completely the entire empire is honeycombed with forces desiring the overthrow of present institutions. He tells how the various organizations together have arranged for co-operation in taking advantage of the present opportunity. He tells how on the day that Von Plehve was killed

the Czar found a sealed letter on the table in his private room which had been placed there in spite of all the secret police that swarm about him. The letter was sent from the executive committee of the revolutionary party and dealt with matters with which they were concerned. Their influence is equally felt within the army and he claims to have seen letters written by soldiers at the front stating that large numbers of the Russian army are pledged "to make no Japanese widows." One letter tells of men voluntarily surrendering to the Japanese in order to avoid fighting for the Czar.

At the same time word comes that industrial conditions in Russia are growing worse. *Forwärts* prints a statement concerning conditions in Rigi to the effect that many of the great textile industries are only running three or four days in the week and that strikes and other methods of expressing discontent are evident.

In an editorial article, after surveying the condition of the various ruling classes in Russia, *Forwärts* concludes, "there is certainly one class in which we can trust, who have reached a position where their condition cannot be bettered through any little swindling concession, but only through a fundamental change of the Russian social organization, through at least the introduction of a constitutional government. This class alone can rescue Russia from the influence of the little clique who are sworn to exhaust all the strength of the country in an exploiting war. This class from which alone we can expect anything is the laboring class.

"In just so far as this class can express itself is there hope for Russia."

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Need of Socialist Literature.

By the time this issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its more distant readers, the vote-making work for 1904 will be practically over; the voters will have made up their minds how to cast their ballots, and some hundreds of thousands who never voted a socialist ticket before will have decided to vote for Comrade Debs, while a still greater number will have admitted the reasonableness of socialism, but will have concluded to vote once more the old ticket they have been accustomed to, with the idea of coming into the socialist movement when they see it has a chance to win.

The socialist campaign never stops, and the workers for socialism realize the necessity for a fresh start the day after election. But what many of them do not yet realize, and what we hope to make clear in these paragraphs, is the changed situation, calling for changed methods. It is no longer a question of finding new sympathizers for socialism; the sympathizers are here, in almost embarrassing numbers; the question is how to transform them into clear-headed socialists who will be able in their turn to do effective work for socialism.

To accomplish this we must depend almost wholly on literature, but the quality of the literature is as important as the quantity. When a man has once taken his stand as a socialist, he may and often does take an innocent delight in reading over and over the reasons why he should be a socialist. The pleasure thus derived is in its essence very much like that of the life-long church-member who likes to attend revival meetings. If he enjoys such reading, there is no reason in the world why he should not indulge himself in it. Only, he should not imagine for a moment that he is thereby doing any work for socialism, or fitting himself to work for it.

Good propaganda literature is not written, and good propaganda talks are not made, by people who have read nothing on socialism but appeals to vote the socialist ticket. The philosophy of socialism is not easy to understand and apply, for the obvious reason that the problems it has to attack are complex ones. But it is well worth the necessary effort to understand and apply, because when one once has a firm grasp of its principles, he gets a new insight into every question of history, economics or politics.

The object of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is to put the standard works on socialism within the reach of those who need them but can not afford to pay high prices. The publishing house is now owned by about two hundred socialist locals and eight hundred individual socialists, each of whom has invested ten dollars, not with the idea of receiving dividends, but in order to insure the publication of socialist books, and to get the privilege of buying these books at cost. The company is organized under the laws of the state of Illinois, so that no liability is involved in buying a share of its stock. We have lately secured authority from the secretary of state to issue four thousand additional shares at ten dollars each, and the growth of the company's work will largely depend on how soon these shares can be subscribed and paid for. Full particulars, with a descriptive catalogue of socialist books, will be mailed on request.

A Twenty Dollar Library.

Here is a suggestion for a small library such as every socialist Local should have for the use of its members. We have arranged the books in the order in which we would suggest that they be taken up by a new convert who has hitherto read only propaganda papers and pamphlets.

1. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, Vandervelde.....	\$0.50
2. American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty, Ladoff.....	.50
3. The American Farmer, Simons.....	.50
4. The Social Revolution, Kautsky.....	.50
5. Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs, Liebknecht.....	.50
6. The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels.....	.50
7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.....	.50
8. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Engels.....	.50
9. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy, Engels.....	.50
10. Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century, Sombart	1.00
11. Love's Coming-of-Age, Carpenter	1.00
12. Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola....	1.00
13. Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood, Maynard.....	1.00
14. Poetical Works of Walt Whitman.....	.75
15. The Economic Foundations of Society, Loria.....	1.25
16. Capital, a Critical Analysis of Capitalistic Production, Marx..	2.00
17-20. International Socialist Review, volumes I, II, III and IV....	8.00

For twenty dollars we will send this entire set of books, by express at purchaser's expense, and a full-paid certificate for a share of stock in our co-operative company; or to any one already a stockholder we will send the entire set for ten dollars. For two dollars additional we will prepay charges to any part of the world, but in most parts of the United States the charges to the express company on delivery of the books will be much less than this. All books in this list are substantially bound in cloth.

Rebels of the New South.

If you want to read a socialist novel, by a man who knows how to write novels and who knows what socialism is, send for this new book by Walter Marion Raymond. It is described on page 191 of last month's REVIEW, and we have not room to repeat what was said. In the former announcement, however, we omitted to state that the book will be illustrated with eight full-page engravings from original drawings, and will be artistically bound in cloth with white stamping from an original design. The first edition involves an outlay of \$450.00, and it will be an important help to the work of the company if all who want copies will remit for them as soon as they read this announcement. Price, one dollar; to stockholders, sixty cents, postpaid.

Raising the Debts of the Company.

The fund contributed by stockholders and others for the purpose of paying off the debt of the company to outside capitalists now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$1,891.94
C. T. Ericsson, Montana	1.00
J. W. Sewell, Kentucky	5.00
Local Idaho Falls, Idaho	1.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio, (additional)	25.00
Local Phoenix, British Columbia	2.00
J. A. Teit, British Columbia	2.00
M. E. Shore, California .....	.80
Elsie Schults, Illinois (additional)	3.00
P. R. Skinner, Oregon (additional)	5.00
Alex. Schablik, Washington (additional)	2.00
W. S. Burnett, California (additional)	2.00
Local Glen Carbon, Illinois	3.00
Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, New York (additional)	100.00
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Pennsylvania	5.00
J. A. Lindquist, Alabama	1.00
U. L. Secrist, Georgia	2.50
G. Stadelmann, Yucon Territory	4.40
Allen A. Crockett, California (additional)	1.00
Daniel Fish, Washington	5.00
Gus Weiss, California (additional)	2.00
L. W. Longmire, Washington	2.00
H. A. Munro, Alabama	1.00
N. O. Nelson, Illinois (additional)	25.00
C. E. Payne, North Dakota	5.00
J. Merritt Lamb, Michigan	5.00
J. O. Duckett, South Carolina (additional)	2.00
William Bateman, Iowa (additional)	1.20
Thomas C. Hall, New York (additional)	25.00
Mrs. West Paul, Oklahoma (additional)	1.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional)	239.90

Total up to September 30, 1904\$2,371.74

It will thus be seen that encouraging progress has been made toward paying off the debt. The over-due bills have been paid, leaving only current bills for small amounts, which will easily be paid from the sales of books. There now remain outstanding notes to the amount of \$740.87, maturing between October 9 and December 9, held by Chicago banks and

business houses, and two notes for \$300 and \$800 respectively, held by a Wisconsin bank. These last named notes bear seven per cent interest, and since they are guaranteed by a stockholder, the probability is that we can keep the money as long as we wish, except in the event of a financial panic. But it is exceedingly desirable to get them paid off at the earliest possible moment, partly because the annual interest, amounting to \$77 a year, might better be used in extending the work of our company, and partly because in the event of an acute financial crisis, the notes might prove a source of serious danger. The offer made by Charles H. Kerr to duplicate out of the balance due him on the books of the company every contribution made by others will hold good to the end of 1904, and by that time the total contributions should easily amount to enough to pay the last dollar due to outsiders, so that the company will be owing only its own stockholders.

Look through the lists of acknowledgments in the last three issues of the REVIEW, and it will be seen that thus far less than a hundred out of nearly a thousand stockholders have made any contribution, large or small, yet every stockholder will share in the benefit of having the publishing house on a basis where its work can be rapidly enlarged without thereby endangering the loss of everything that has been accomplished. Every stockholder can afford to do something, even if it be only a trifling amount to show his interest.

On the other hand there are some socialist sympathizers to whom the payment of the entire debt of the company would mean a slighter personal sacrifice than the payment of ten dollars for a share meant to many of the shareholders.

As Comrade Bax points out in one of his charming essays, there are comparatively few places where large sums of money can be contributed to the socialist cause without the probability of doing as much harm as good. Here, however, is a publishing house which has made an unquestioned success with no resources but the subscriptions of a thousand laborers and the business credit of its manager. The opportunity is now offered to place this publishing house in a position where its future control will be absolutely in the hands of the majority of its stockholders, and where its work can be expanded indefinitely as fast as new stockholders can be found.

Much as the money is needed, we do not propose to raise it by selling large blocks of stock, even though the purchasers be socialists. We regard the democratic control of the company as of the first importance. No one now owns more than fifty shares, and arrangements will as soon as possible be made to distribute all holdings of more than two or three shares each, while no effort is being made to sell more than one share to a subscriber, and three-fourths of all the shares are now held singly.

Moral: If not a stockholder, become one. If you hold a share of stock, then contribute your fair proportion, whether it be fifty cents or five thousand dollars, toward putting the co-operative company on a safe and permanent basis.